UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01458634 1

Theo Dept

Toronto University Library

Presented by

Miss Maria Laughton.

through the Committee formed in
The Old Country
to aid in replacing the loss caused by
The disastrous Fire of February the 14th 1890

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

Ancient and Modern,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF CHURCH POWER

ARE CONSIDERED

IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY,

AND

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE LEARNED

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCURATE INDEX.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. BAYNES, 25, IVY-LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1819.

BR
145
M6713
1819
v.4

1453
18/III/90
lo

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Book the Fourth.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER,

TO

THE PRESENT TIMES.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this Work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconveniences, in this Fourth Book, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were in one continued tablature, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiffs, was every where either dissolved, or at least, relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts, as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed in the Fourth book.

II. It is however proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguished this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

ticular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide this Fourth Book into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the *General*, and the other the *Particular History of the Christian religion.*

The general history of the church—its extent.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rites, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or, at least, to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which consequently produced every where changes and improvements of more or less importance.

Particular history.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century, we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the *first* we shall comprehend what relates to the more *ancient* Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the *second* shall be confined to the history of those more *modern* societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in *Germany*. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the Preface to this Work shall

shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible; since it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in these times of discord.

History of the Reformation.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the Revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in *Saxony* from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of *Europe* was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it *produced*, and the inconveniences of which it has been the *innocent occasion*. The history therefore of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connections are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the plan and method already laid down.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

I. THE History of the Reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion, in the uninterrupted narration of one Section; we shall therefore divide it into *Four* Parts.

The division of the first section.

The FIRST will contain *An Account of the State of Christianity before the Commencement of the Reformation.*

The SECOND, *The History of the Reformation from its first Beginnings until the date of the Confession drawn up at* Augsberg.

The THIRD will exhibit *A View of the same History, from this latter period to the Commencement of the war of* Smalcald. And,

The FOURTH will carry it down to *The Peace that was entered into with the Abettors of the Reformation in the year* 1555 [*a*]. This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

CHAP.

[*a*] The writers of the *History of the Reformation* of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned Philip Frid. Hane (who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class,) in his *Historia Sacrorum a Luthero Emendatorum*, part I. cap. i. p. 1. and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*, part II. cap. clxxxvii. p. 863.—The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of this list of authors must be consulted by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of the Christian Church before the Reformation.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the vallies of *Piedmont*, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of *Europe*, which separates the *Alps* from the *Pyrenean* mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

Things are in a quiet state at the beginning of this century.

II. We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance.

The complaints against the popes and clergy ineffectual.

illustration of the matters which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this history. The illustrious names of Sleidan and Seckendorff, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to render it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their councils, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a *Reformation* of the church, in its head and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose [*b*]. But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from persons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the Pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting, themselves, to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely unactive, and looked for redress to the court of *Rome*, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontiff was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

III. If

[*b*] These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Loescherus, in *Actis et documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105.—cap. ix. p. 181. & Ern. Salom. Cyprian. *Præfat. ad Wilk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat.* published at *Leipsic* in 8vo, in the year 1717.—The grievances complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperator. et nationis German. adversus sedem Roman*, cap. vii. p. 261. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romanists pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of Luther, were corrupted in a very high degree.

The restoration of learning.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in *Europe*, and the number of men of genius that arose, of a sudden, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as Erasmus and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the court of *Rome*, and the brutish manner of the Monastic Orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of *canon-law*, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that *Christ* had established a vicegerent at *Rome*, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched, therefore, within these strong-holds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed, moreover, with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

IV. Hence

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The popes Alexander VI. Pius III.

IV. Hence it was, that the bishops of *Rome* lived in the utmost security and ease, and being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. Alexander VI. whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old age [*c*]. He was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III. who in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by Julian de la Rovere, who assumed the denomination of Julius II.

Julius II.

V. To the odious list of vices with which Julius II. dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of *France* [*d*]. He

[*c*] See the *Life of* Alexander VI. in two volumes 8vo. by Alex. Gordon, Esq.—As also another life of the same pontiff, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of Leo X. to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work entitled, *Histoire du Droit publique Ecclesiastique Francois, par M.* D. B. published in 4to at *London*, in 1752.

[*d*] See Du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the *Hague* in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1710.

He afterwards laid siege to *Farrara;* and, at length, turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer *Europe* to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a *vicar* of Christ, who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

The council of Pisa.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over *Europe*, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church that was so ardently and so universally desired. Lewis XII. king of *France*, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of *Rome*, which was represented by the title of *Babylon*, on this coin [*e*]. Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor Maximilian I. assembled, in the year 1511, a council at *Pisa*, with an intention

[*e*] See B. Christ. Sigismund. Liebii *Commentatio de numis Ludovici* XII. *Epigraphe*, Perdam Babylonis nomen *insignibus;* Leipsic, 1717.—See also *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 238. 243.—Colonia, *Histoire Litter. de la Ville de Lyon* tom. ii. p. 443.—The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

tion to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. Julius, on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not, however, neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran in the year 1512 [*f*], in which the decrees of the council of *Pisa* were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most dire and formidable *anathemas* against Lewis and other princes, had not death snatched away this audacious pontiff, in the year 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

Leo X.

VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo X. of the family of Medicis, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was nevertheless equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of the age would admit of. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not, however, neglect

[*f*] Harduini *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559.

neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the *Reformation* of the church. He went still farther; and, in a conference which he had with Francis I. king of *France*, at *Bologna*, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the *Pragmatic Sanction* [*g*], which had been so long odious to the popes of *Rome*, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects under the title of the *Concordate*, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance [*h*].

VIII. The

[*g*] We have mentioned this *Pragmatic Sanction*, Cent. XV. Part II. Chap. II. sect. xvi. note [*q*], and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the eighth volume of the *Concilia* Harduini, p. 1949. as is the *Concordate*, that was substituted in its place, in the ninth volume of the same work, p. 1867. and in Leibnitz, his *Mantissa Codicis Diplomat.* part I. p. 158. part II. p. 358.—The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3.—See also on the same subject, De Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61.—109. Du Clos, *Histoire de Louis* XI. *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 415.—*Menigiana*, tom. iii. p. 285.

☞ [*h*] The king went in person to the parliament to offer the *Concordate* to be registered, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this *Act*, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the *Concordate*, but to observe still the *Pragmatic*, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of Charles VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the *Concordate*, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The avarice of the popes.

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of *Europe* were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after

The chancellor De Prat, who was principally concerned in promoting the *Concordate,* has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president Hainault has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the *Concordate* as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconveniences than the *Pragmatic Sanction.* He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the *Concordate,* with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices that prevailed almost every where, while, according to the *Pragmatic Sanction,* every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes, moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of *France,* and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right which Christian communities have to choose their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniences; and that the subjects, by entrusting their sovereign with the government of the state, invest him, *ipso facto,* with an authority over the church which is a part of the state, and its noblest branch. See Hainault, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France,* in the particular remarks that are placed at the end of the reign of Lewis XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the *Concordate* was this: that in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates,* or *first fruits,* which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the *Concordate.* And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the *first fruits,* of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the *Pragmatic Sanction.* See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois.* As this substitution of the *Concordate,* in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction,* was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.

after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state (and such was the character assumed by the popes) the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But as the name of *tribute* was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of *indulgences* was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occasions, they were recommended warmly to the ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

The pope's authority held inferior to that of a council.

IX. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that was almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations, considered them as liable to error, and bounded by law. The councils of *Constance* and *Basil* had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians,

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of *Rome*, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convicted of gross errors or enormous crimes. Thus were the people, in some measure, prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence that ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council, which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence also those frequent appeals that were made to this approaching council, when the court of *Rome* issued out any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

The corruption of the lower orders of the clergy.

X. The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed towards all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once-respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eye of the wise and good, but also in the universal judgment of the multitude [*i*]. Nor

[*i*] See Cornelii Aurelii Gaudani *Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu Matris Ecclesiæ*, in Caspar. Burmanni *Analect. Hist. de Hadriano* VI. p. 245. printed in 4to at *Utrecht* in 1727.

Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for, as all the offices and dignities of the church were become *venal* every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

The state of the monastic orders.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread *Europe* were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. Dominick and St. Francis, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endea-

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

voured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to Reuclinus, Erasmus, and other learned men.

The Dominicans.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprising, when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the *inquisition*, and had the care of souls, with the function of *confessors*, in all the courts of *Europe*; a circumstance this, which, in these times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen, among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at *Bern*, in the year 1509 [*k*]. They were perpetually

☞ [*k*] This most impious fraud is recorded at length by Ruchat, at the end of the sixth volume of his *Histoire de la Reformatione en Suisse;* and also by Hottinger, in his *Histor. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct, narration of this infernal stratagem, in Bishop Burnet's Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalship between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The *former* maintained, that she was born without the blemish of *original sin;* the *latter* asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age

perpetually employed in stigmatizing, with the opprobrious mark of *Heresy*, numbers of learned and

age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, at a chapter held at Vimpsen in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit, as a lay brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seemed to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached Jetzer's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at *Paris*, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that, by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howlings, frighted poor Jetzer out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the *Discipline of the Whip*, performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon Jetzer the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying, that he would appear to him again, accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him; and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars that managed the imposture, magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils, and Jetzer's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights and properties of others to augment their possessions,

all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes (the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity, we shall here omit) the impostor talked much to Jetzer of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in original sin; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions, Jetzer imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but, not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. Barbara, at others in that of St. Bernard; at length he assumed that of the Virgin Mary, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to Jetzer, in which, among other things, she told him that she was conceived in original sin, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him, as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted, the *Virgin-prior* told Jetzer, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her Son's love, by imprinting on him the *five wounds* that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucia and St. Catharine. Accordingly, she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin, brought, as she pretended, some of the linen, in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a sporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, all which with some stupifying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which

sions, and in laying the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for the destruction of their adversaries.

which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened, he found to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary and another of the child Jesus; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother, by means of this voice, (which was that of the prior's) why she wept? and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to *her* the honour that was due to *him*, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems of these Dominicans were repeated every night, and the matter was at length so grossly over-acted, that, simple as Jetzer was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans fearing, by this discovery, to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to Jetzer, and to engage him by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. Jetzer was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him; but his constitution was so vigorous, that though they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices, which, growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the *host*, or consecrated wafer, but as he vomited it up soon after he swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short, there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till, finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to *Rome*, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ries [*l*]. And they were the principal counsellors, by whose instigation and advice Leo X. was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of Luther.

The state of learning and of the public schools.

XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the Mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the *venerable* titles of *Artists*, *Grammarians*, *Physicians*, and *Dialecticians*, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled Aristotle beyond all measure; while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him. For what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that famous Grecian sage,

solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died some time after at *Constance*, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances, was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture, may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

[*l*] See Bilib. Pirkheimeri *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis*, in opp. ejus, p. 372. This letter is also to be found in Gerdesii *Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads of schools were unable to comprehend. And if, among these thorns of scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, whose clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European academies.

The state of theology.

XIV. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century may be learned from many books yet extant, which were wrote by the divines it produced, and which, in reality, have no other merit than their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy scriptures were very few in number during this century; and there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of knowledge was so rare, that, when Luther arose, there could not be found, even in the university of *Paris*, which was considered as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine upon a scripture foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such, as, laying aside all attention to the true meaning and force of the words of scripture, which their profound ignorance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies, in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to these classes of divines, which we have formerly mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who were extremely fond, the *former* of loading their accounts, both of the

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writings of the ancient doctors; the *latter* of explaining the doctrines of the gospel by the rules of a subtile and intricate philosophy.

The liberty of debating religious subjects.

XV. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to salvation. There were several points of doctrine, which had not been as yet fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the right of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted that seemed detrimental to the supremacy of the apostolic sèe, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christian doctors before Luther, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterwards drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger of molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of *Rome*, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

The nature of religious worship as it was celebrated at this time.

XVI. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of these, who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained

contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a common-place set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were, indeed, the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author, and the efficacy of his mediation, as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue and the salvation of souls.

XVII. The

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The corrupt and miserable condition of the people in general.

XVII. The state of things, that we have been now describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned universally in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rites and ceremonies of the church, were far from shewing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance, or to check the superstition of the times; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them, as conducive to their safety, and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shewn in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of *indulgences* could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind; and that, in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from *expiations*, *satisfactions*, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances, must necessarily decrease.

A reformation in the church ardently desired.

XVIII. Such then was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardour and impatience with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them, indeed, were perhaps, over-moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views

views so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rites and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was, to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men; to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burthens that were imposed upon them under religious pretexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances complained of sprung, and, indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed; so was this *reformation* supposed to be ardently, though silently wished for, by all those who publicly demanded the *reformation of the church in its head and in its members.*

XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the *Mystics.* For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the *Mystics* were loved and respected by many persons, who had a serious sense of religion, and were of a tender and devotional complexion. But as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical

The Mystics.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

practical precepts and directions; and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness; more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

CHAP. II.

The History of the Reformation, from its first beginnings, to the Confession given in at Augsburg.

The dawn of a reformation rises unexpectedly.

I. WHILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person, arose on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was MARTIN LUTHER, a native of *Aisleben*, in *Saxony*, a monk of the Augustinian *Eremites*, who were one of the Mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at *Wittemberg*, a few years before this period, by Frederic the *Wise*. The papal chair was, at that time, filled by Leo X. Maximilian I. a prince of the house of *Austria*, was king of the Romans, and emperor of *Germany*; and Frederic, already mentioned, elector of *Saxony*.

The

The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny David could hurt a Goliah, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain.

Luther.

II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible, his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs;-and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged, even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of *Wittemberg*. As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the Nominalists, which was the system adopted by his order; while, in divinity, he followed chiefly the sentiments of Augustin; but in both he preferred the decisions of Scripture, and the dictates of right reason before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach [*m*].

III. The

[*m*] The writers who have given any circumstantial account of Luther, and his transactions are accurately enumerated by Jo. Alb.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

Indulgences preached up by John Tetzel in 1517.

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was John Tetzel [*n*]. This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen on account of his uncommon impudence, by Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to preach and proclaim, in Germany, those famous *indulgences* of Leo X. which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency [*o*] and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of Christ. At this, Luther, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and, in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at Wittemberg, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these questors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontiff as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced, by such delusions, from placing

Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranum*; the first part of which was published at *Hamburg* in the year 1728, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

[*n*] The historians who have particularly mentioned Tetzel, and his odious methods, of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted in the preceding note, part I. p. 47. part II. p. 530.—What is said of this vile deceiver by Echard and Quetif, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Predicator.* tom. ii. p. 40. discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

☞ [*o*] In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, Tetzel said, among other enormities, that "even had any one ravished the mother of God, he (Tetzel) had wherewithal to efface his guilt." He also boasted, that "he had saved more souls from hell by these *indulgences*, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching."

placing their principal confidence in Christ, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory [*p*].

IV. This

☞ [*p*] Dr. Mosheim has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make Luther's zealous opposition to the publication of *Indulgences* appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no way affected by the views or characters of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry; but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. Hume, in his *History of the Reign of* Henry VIII. has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had *usually* been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans *; that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, *resenting the affront put upon his Order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves †." It were to be wished, that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the *first* place, it is not true, that the *Austin friars had been* usually *employed in* Saxony *to preach indulgences*. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether *Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans*, or *Carmelites*. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the *Dominicans* ‡; and, in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not

* Hume's History of England, under the House of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.
† Id. ib. p. 120.
‡ See Weismanni, Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ N. T. p. 1051. 1115.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

IV. This debate between Luther and Tetzel was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might

The true state of the debate between Luther and Tetzel.

not one single act by which it appears, that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, (*i. e.* from 1450 to 1517), during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin Friar employed in that service; if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin order were exclusively, or even usually employed in that service *. Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Priero, Pallavicini, and Graweson, the mortal enemies of Luther.—But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual, to employ the Augustin friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To shew the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly, That in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences were become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings †. Nay more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order ‡, who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther, or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the

* See Harpii Dissertat. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum, Sæc. xiv. et xv. Quæstoribus, p. 384. 387.

† See Walch. opp. Luther. tom. xv. p. 114. 283. 512. 349.—Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

‡ See Walch, loc. cit. p. 371.

might have been determined with the utmost facility, had Leo X. been disposed to follow the healing

the Dominicans in general; since it was given to Tetzel alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider in the *third* place, That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of *Rome*, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favour, but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzel, whom Luther opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochlæus was silent on this head during the life of Luther; though after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices *, that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use, either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of Luther's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations, to shew the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated

* Sleidan De Statu Rel. et. Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ing method which common prudence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For, after all, and this was no more than a private dispute between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. Luther confessed that the Roman pontiff was clothed with the power of remitting the *human* punishments inflicted upon transgressors, *i. e.* the punishments denounced by the church, and its visible head, the bishop of *Rome;* but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming on the contrary, that these punishments could only be removed by the merits of Christ, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, undertaken and performed by the transgressor. The doctrine of Tetzel was, indeed, directly opposite to the sentiments of Luther; for this senseless and designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates, however, being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and from small beginnings produced, at length, revolutions, and events of the most momentous nature.

V. The

rated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as Charles V. to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

The adversaries of Luther and the patrons of Tetzel.

V. The sentiments of Luther were received with applause by the greatest part of *Germany*, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs, and the extortions of their tax-gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of *Rome* were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of Tetzel. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and Tetzel himself appeared immediately in the field against Luther, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following (1518) two famous Dominicans, Sylvester de Prierio and Hogstrat, the former a native of *Italy*, and the latter a *German*, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at *Cologn* with the utmost vehemence and ardour. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named Eckius, a celebrated professor of divinity at *Ingolstadt*, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. Luther stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections, and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed himself by letters, written in the most submissive and respectful terms, to the Roman pontiff, and to several of the bishops, shewing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

well as the justice of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

A conference is held between Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg.

VI. At first, Leo X. beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but, being informed by the emperor Maximilian I. not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in *Germany*, he summoned Luther to appear before him at *Rome*, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by Frederic *the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, who pretended that the cause of Luther belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered Luther to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal Cajetan, who was at this time legate at the diet of *Augsburg*. In this first step, the court of *Rome* gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negociations, in this weighty affair, were afterwards conducted. For, instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters than the choice of Cajetan, a Dominican, and, consequently, the declared enemy of Luther, and friend of Tetzel, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

The issue of this conference.

VII. Luther, however, repaired to *Augsburg*, in the month of October 1518, and conferred, at three different meetings, with Cajetan himself [*q*], concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of *Rome*, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to encourage him in the execution

[*q*] There is a large account of this cardinal given by Quetif and Echard, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

cution of such a purpose. The high spirit of Luther was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired Luther to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his fault, and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontiff [*r*]. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves, and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For Luther, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left *Augsburg* all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and, in this step, he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of *Rome* [*s*]. But Leo X. on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism, and carried things to the utmost extremity; for, in the month of November, this same year, he published a special edict, *commanding* his spiritual subjects

[*r*] The imperious and imprudent manner in which Cajetan behaved towards Luther was highly disapproved of, even at the court of *Rome*, as appears, among other testimonies, from Paulo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, book I. p. 22. The conduct of Cajetan is defended by Echard, in his *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15. but with little prudence, and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court of *Rome* and its unthinking sovereign, were not less culpable than Cajetan in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat Luther with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

[*s*] See B. Christ. Frid. Borneri *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano.* Leips. 1722, in 4to.—Val. Ern. Loscheri *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435. opp. *Lutheri*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

to acknowledge his *power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind.* As soon as Luther received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of *Rome* to any reasonable terms; he therefore repaired to *Wittemburg*, and, on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

The transactions of Miltitz.

VIII. In the mean time the Roman pontiff became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of in entrusting Cajetan with such a commission, and endeavouring to mend the matter by employing a man of more candour and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of Luther, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of Leo X. and whose lay character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple, or the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. Leo, therefore sent him into *Saxony* to present to Frederick the golden consecrated *rose* (which the pontiffs are used to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those princes, for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem), and to treat with Luther, not only about finishing his controversy with Tetzel, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. Nor, indeed, were the negociations of this prudent ministry entirely unsuccessful; for, in his first conference with Luther, at *Altenburg*, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade

All the projects of reconciliation disconcerted in 1519.

suade him to write a submissive letter to Leo X. promising to observe a profound silence upon the matters in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, Miltitz had a second conference with Luther in the castle of *Leibenwerd*, and a third the year following, at *Lichtenberg* [*t*]. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill-founded [*u*]. But the violent proceedings of the enemies of Luther, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence, of the court of *Rome*, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

The nature of the conferences between Miltitz and Luther.

☞ [*w*] IX. It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by Cajetan to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that "one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem

[*t*] See B. Christ. Frid. B. The records relating to the embassy of Miltitz, were first published by Ern. Salomon Cyprianus, in *Addit. ad* Wilh. Ern. Tenzelii *Histor. Reformat.* tom. i. ii.—As also by Val. Ern. Loscherus, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. and tom. iii. cap. ii.

[*u*] In the year 1519, Leo X. wrote to Luther in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter, which was published in 1742, by Loscherus, in a German work entitled *Unschuld Nachrict)* it appears that at the court of *Rome* they looked upon a reconciliation between Luther and the pontiff as certain and near at hand.

☞ [*w*] This whole ninth section is added to Dr. Mosheim's work by the translator, who thought that this part of Luther's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner, than it is in the original.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

the whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and on the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs [*x*]:" such a man was not to be reasoned with. But Miltitz proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered, indeed, to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige Luther to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that Luther's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded Tetzel with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that Luther had complained of. Tetzel, on the other hand, burthened with the iniquities of *Rome*, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair [*y*]. This incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach,

☞ [*x*] Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of Cajetan, which he borrowed from one of the *Decretals* of Clement VI. called (and that justly for more than one reason) *Extravagants*.

☞ [*y*] Luther was so affected by the agonies of despair under which Tetzel laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which, however, produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture placed in the church of *Pinna*, in which he is represented sitting on an ass and selling indulgences.

proach, Miltitz entered into a particular conversation with Luther at *Altenburg*, and, without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowledge the four following things: 1*st*, That the "people had been seduced by false notions of "indulgences: 2*dly*, That he (Luther) had "been the cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as much more heinous than "they really were: 3*dly*, That the odious conduct of Tetzel alone had given occasion to "these representations: and, 4*thly*, That, though "the avarice of Albert, archbishop of *Mentz*, "had set on Tetzel, yet that this rapacious taxgatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his "commission." These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on Luther's character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of union and concord in an afflicted and divided church; all which Miltitz joined together with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the Saxon reformer. Nor were his mind and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect; and it was upon this occasion that Luther made submissions which shewed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely expelled, or his reforming principles steadily fixed. For he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed on his adversaries; he went much farther; he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far; and such a letter he wrote some time after the conference at *Altenburg* [z]. He even consented to publish a circular

☞ [z] This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after the conference of *Altenburg*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the holy Roman church. He declared that his only intention, in the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused its authority, and employed its protection as a mask to cover their abominable and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those weak submissions which the impartial demands of historical truth obliged us to relate, there was, properly speaking, no retraction of his former tenets, nor the smallest degree of respect shewn to the infamous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless the pretended majesty of the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff, were treated by Luther in this transaction, and in his letter to Leo, in a manner that could not naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to the general council.

Had the court of *Rome* been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by Luther, they would have almost nipped in the bud the cause of the reformation, or would at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the divisions, which were so near being healed, and, by animating both Luther and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles, and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the blessed reformation [*a*].

X. One

☞ [*a*] See, for an ample account of Luther's conferences with Miltitz, the incomparable work of Seckendorf, intitled, *Commentar. Histor. Apologet. de Lutheranismo, sive de Reformatione Religionis*, &c. in which the facts relating to Luther and the Reformation are deduced from the most precious and authentic

X. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least by its consequences, to render the embassy of Miltitz ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at *Leipsic*, some weeks successively, in the year 1519 [*b*]. A doctor named Eckius, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from Carlostadt, the colleague and companion of Luther, in his sentiments concerning *Free-will*. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion and literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by a single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest, and proclaimed the victory. Eckius, therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged Carlostadt, and even Luther himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between Carlostadt and Eckius

The disputes at Leipsic in the year 1519, between Eckius and Carlostadt.

authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and in other learned aud princely collections, and in which the frauds and falsehoods of Maimbourg's *History of Lutheranism* are fully detected and refuted.—As to Miltitz, his fate was unhappy. His moderation (which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of *Rome*) was represented by Eckius, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and after several marks of neglect received from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*.

[*b*] These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

Eckius concerning the powers and freedom of the human will [*c*]; it was carried on in the castle of *Pleissenburg*, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between Luther and Eckius concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of *Leipsic*, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alleged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged; so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of *Paris* and *Erfurt* [*d*]. In the mean time, one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which Eckius had conceived against Luther; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer [*e*], whom he marked out as a victim

☞ [*c*] This controversy turned upon *liberty*, considered not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power* than concerning *liberty*. Carlostadt maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. Eckius asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern *Lutherans* have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of Carlostadt.

[*d*] There is an ample account of this dispute at *Leipsic*, given by Val. Ern. Loscherus, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

☞ [*e*] This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an eminent and palpable superiority. This indeed Eckius had no opportunity of exercising. Luther demonstrated,

victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of Luther, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case [*e*].

Philip Melancthon.

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat, was Philip Melancthon, at that time professor of Greek at *Wittemberg*, who had not, as yet, been involved in these divisions (as indeed the mildness of his temper, and his elegant taste for polite literature, rendered him averse from disputes of this nature), though he was the intimate friend of Luther, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon [*f*]. As this eminent man was one of those whom this dispute with Eckius convinced of the excellence of Luther's cause; as he was, moreover,

demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of *Rome*, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishop, from the testimony of scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice; while all the arguments of Eckius were derived from the spurious and insipid Decretals, which were scarcely of 400 years standing. See Seckendorff's *History of Lutheranism.*

☞ [*e*] It may be observed here, that, before Luther's attack upon the store-house of indulgences, Eckius was his intimate friend. Eckius must certainly have been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle Melancthon represents him as an *inhuman persecutor*, a *sophist*, and a *knave*, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief, and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 713; see also Vitus' account of the death of Eckius in Seckendorff, lib. iii. p. 468; and in the *Scholia ad Indicem*, 1 Hist. of the same book, No. xxiii.

[*f*] See Melancthon's letter concerning the conference at *Leipsic*, in Loscher's *Acta et documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215; as also in the *Wittemberg* edition of Luther's works, vol. i. p. 336.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

over, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the Reformation; it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge, that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that Luther had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connections and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity, and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of Melancthon more signal advantages, and a more effectual support, than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardour that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence,

dence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is however certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of *Rome;* but maintained on the contrary that their extirpation was essentially necessary, in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care, before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shews, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of Melancthon's natural character, without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete [*g*], he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men [*h*].

XII. While

☞ [*g*] By this, no doubt, Dr. Mosheim means the credulity this great man discovered with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology. See Schelhornii *Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. et Lit.* vol. ii. p. 609.

[*h*] We have a life of Melancthon, written by Joachim Camerarius, which has already gone through several editions. But

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The origin of the reformation in Switzerland.

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus upon the decline in *Germany*, they received a mortal wound in *Switzerland* from Ulric Zuingle, a canon of *Zurich*, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution [*i*]. It must even be acknowledged [*k*], that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther came to an open rupture with the church of *Rome*,

But a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer, composed by a prudent, impartial, and well-informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his works, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

☞ [*i*] The translator has added to the portrait of Zuingle, the quality of *heroic intrepidity*, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him, perhaps beyond comparison the brightest ornament of the protestant cause.

☞ [*k*] Our learned historian does not seem to acknowledge this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend about the honour of having given the first overtures towards the reformation. If, however, truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgment, he has accompanied it with some modifications that are more artful than accurate. He says, "that Zuingle had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther had come to an open rupture," &c. to make us imagine that Luther might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as Zuingle. But it is well known, that the latter, from his early years, had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of *Rome:* that so early as the year 1516 *, he had begun to explain the scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that Luther retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. Luther proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which Zuingle, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

* Ruchart. Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse, Zuinglii opp. tom. i. p. 7. Nouveau Diction. vol. iv. p. 866. Durand, Hist. du xvi. Siecle, tom. ii. p. 8. &c. Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. partie I. p. 119.

Rome. He was however afterwards still farther animated by the example, and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people [*l*], but also gave in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was Samson, and who was carrying on, in *Switzerland*, the impious traffic of indulgences with the same impudence that Tetzel had done in *Germany* [*m*]. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingle pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men, educated in *Germany*, who became his colleagues and the companions of his labours, and who jointly with him succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of *Switzerland*. It is indeed to be observed, that Zuingle did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by Luther; nor, upon par-

☞ [*l*] This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that Zuingle had explained the scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland. Besides, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple, as the four volumes in folio, we have of his works, abundantly testify.

[*m*] See Jo. Henr. Hottingerii *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 28.—Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4—66.——Gerdes, *Histor. Renovati Evangelis*, tom. ii. p. 228.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ticular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

Luther is excommunicated by the pope, in 1520.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in *Germany*, increased, instead of diminishing. For while Miltitz was treating with Luther in *Saxony*, in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, Eckius, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at *Leipsic*, repaired with the utmost precipitation to *Rome*, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of Luther. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, De Prierio and Cajetan, he earnestly entreated Leo X. to level the thunder of his *anathemas* at the head of Luther, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by Luther's treatment of their brother Tetzel, and their patron Cajetan, seconded the furious efforts of Eckius against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued [*n*] out a bull against Luther, dated the 15th of

[*n*] The wisest and best part of the Roman Catholics acknowledge, that Leo X. was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See

of June, 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burnt, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff.

Luther withdraws himself from the communion of the church of Rome.

XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair, was brought to Luther, he thought it was high time to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of *Rome*, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of *Rome*, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time, he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious

See a Dissertation of the learned John Frederick Mayer, *De Pontificiis Leonis* X. *processum adversus Lutherum improbantibus*, which is part of a work published at *Hamburg*, in 4to, in the year 1698, under this singular title: *Ecclesia Romana Reformationis Lutheranæ patrona et cliens.* There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the Roman pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of Eckius and the Dominicans; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conferences of Miltitz with Luther, before such forcible measures were employed.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

perstitious church might be universally known, before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city [*o*], and there in presence of a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the *bull* that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from *Rome*, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man who publicly commits to the flames the *code* that contains the laws of his sovereign, shews thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any design to submit to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason or common sense, be afterwards forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that Luther was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dextrous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of *Rome*, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense; for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and even zealous for the maintenance

[*o*] Of *Wittemberg*.

tenance of the liberties of *Germany*, justified this bold resolution of Luther [*o*]. In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second *bull* was issued out against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy, of the Roman pontiff [*p*].

The rise of the Lutheran church.

XV. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of Luther, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles entirely opposite to those of *Rome*, and to establish, in it, a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel of truth. This, indeed, was the only resource Luther had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable; and to embrace, anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle, worthy only of the most

 abandoned

☞ [*o*] This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to, and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the *papacy* with the *catholic church*; though they be, in reality, two different things. The papacy indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontiffs, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution, as a new *citadel erected*, by a successful usurper, would be to an *ancient city*. Luther set out and acted upon this distinction; he went out of the *citadel* but he meant to remain in the *city*, and, like a good patriot, designed to reform its corrupted government.

[*p*] Both these *bulls* are to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and also in the learned Pfaff's *Histor. Theol. Literar.* tom. ii. p. 42.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

abandoned profligate. From this time, therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervour than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main stronghold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men, in various parts of *Europe;* by those of the professors of the academy of *Wittemberg*, who had adopted his principles; and in a more especial manner by the celebrated Melancthon. And as the fame of Luther's wisdom and Melancthon's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the Reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of *Europe* [q].

A diet assembled at Worms, in 1521.

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, Maximilian I. had departed this life, and his grandson Charles V. king of *Spain*, had succeeded him in the empire in the year 1519. Leo X. seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as *advocate and defender of the church*, and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, Frederick the *Wise* employed his credit with Charles to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church, and

[q] There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in *Germany* given by the learned M. Daniel Gerdes, professor at *Groningen*, in his *Historia renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted that Charles was under much greater obligations to Frederick, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pretensions of such a formidable rival as Francis I. king of *France*. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That, however, he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that Luther should be called before the council, that was to be assembled at *Worms* in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered, that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for *Germany*, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

XVII. Luther, therefore, appeared at *Worms*, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe-conduct from the emperor, and, on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatenings and entreaties were employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he

The result of this diet Luther's banishment.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced, by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threatenings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained, indeed, from the emperor, the liberty of returning, unmolested, to his home: but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire [*r*]. Frederick,

☞ [*r*] This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and Charles V. whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, shewed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; Luther is declared a *member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious* and *obstinate heretic;* the severest punishments are denounced against those, who shall *receive, entertain, maintain,* or *countenance* him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This *edict* was, however, received with the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1*st,* because Luther had been condemned without being heard, at *Rome,* by the college of cardinals, and afterwards at *Worms,* where, without either examining or refuting his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2*dly,* because Charles V. as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, nor to take for granted the *infallibility* of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and, 3*dly,* because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of *Cologn, Saxony,* and the *Palatinate,* and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the *edict;* and that, therefore, at best, it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of *Austria;* and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the edict of *Worms* produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because Charles V. whose presence, authority, and zeal, were necessary to render it respectable,

Frederick, who saw the storm rising against Luther, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with Luther, near *Eysenac*, they seized him, and carried him into the castle of *Wartenberg*, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowledge of his Imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his *Patmos*, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in the compositions that were afterwards useful to the world [*s*].

XVIII.

spectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature which he had more at heart. Obliged to pass successively into *Flanders, England,* and *Spain,* to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival Francis I. he lost sight of the *edict of Worms,* while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church treated this edict with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.

☞ [*s*] This precaution of the humane and excellent elector, being put in execution the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of *Worms,* the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of Luther became doubly odious to the people in *Germany,* who, unacquainted with the scheme of Frederick, and, not knowing what was become of their favourite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed by the emissaries of *Rome.* In the mean time, Luther lived in peace and quiet in the castle of *Wartenberg,* where he translated a great part of the *New Testament* into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of *Yonker George.*

☞ If we cast an eye upon the conduct of Luther, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational

zeal,

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The conduct of Luther after his leaving the castle of Wartenberg.

XVIII. The active spirit of Luther could not, however, long bear this confinement; he therefore left his *Patmos*, in the month of March, of the year 1522, without the consent or even the knowledge of his patron and protector Frederick, and repaired to *Wittemberg*. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of Carlostadt, and some other friends of the Reformation, who had already excited

zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of *Worms*, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding Luther's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the *bull* that had been published against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of *Worms*, notwithstanding the imperial safe-conduct (which in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect John Huss and Jerome of *Prague*, from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies), he answered with his usual intrepidity, that "were he obliged to encounter at *Worms* as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there; that fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly as the diet of *Worms*." The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed to prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in Luther's conduct at the assembly before whom he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*, and the grievances that arose from the overgrown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that was made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him; and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shewn to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

excited tumults in *Saxony*, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state, and the true interests of the church. Carlostadt, professor at *Wittemberg*, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of Eckius, had been excluded with Luther from the communion of the church. His zeal, however, was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During Luther's absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. Luther opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course [*t*], and since the destruction of

☞ [*t*] Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to Luther than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit of; the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of Luther, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But, perhaps, the true reason of Luther's displeasure at the proceedings of Carlostadt, was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. Luther himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition;

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the Holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success [*u*], with the assistance of some learned and pious men whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly shewed the wisdom of Luther's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of *Rome* from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

Leo X. succeeded by Adrian VI. in the year 1522. Diet of Nuremberg.

XIX. While these things were transacting, Leo X. departed this life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of *Utrecht*. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to Charles V. and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candour, who acknowledged ingeniously that the church laboured under the most fatal disorders,

ambition; and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that Carlostadt was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterwards with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by Munzer. His contests with Luther about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.

[*u*] On this *German translation of the Bible*, which contributed more than all other causes, taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by Jo. Frid. Mayer, and published in 4to at *Hamburg*, in the year 1701. A more ample one, however, was expected from the labours of the learned J. Melchior Kraft, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Centifolium Lutheran*, par. I. p. 147. & par. II. p. 617.

orders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal them [*w*]. He began his pontificate by sending a legate to the diet, which was assembled at *Nuremberg* in 1522. Francis Cheregato, the person who was intrusted with this commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at the diet of *Worms;* but, at the same time, he was authorised to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy against the see of *Rome.* The princes of the empire, encouraged by this declaration on the one hand, and by the absence of the emperor, who, at this time, resided in *Spain,* on the other, seized this opportunity of proposing the summoning a general council in *Germany,* in order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing about an universal reformation of the church. They exhibited, at the same time, an hundred articles, containing the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment the Germans had hitherto received from the court of *Rome,* and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance [*x*]. As long as the German princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to the measures that were taken in *Saxony* for founding a new church in direct opposition to that of *Rome,* they were zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked

[*w*] See Caspar. Burmanni *Adrianus* VI. *sive Analecta Historica de Adriano* VI. *Papa Romano,* published at *Utrecht* in 4to, in the year 1727.

[*x*] See Jac. Frid. Georgii *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedum Romanam,* lib. ii. p. 327.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

looked upon as overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended at Luther's contest with the Roman pontiff, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

Clement VII. elected pope in the year 1524.

XX. The good pope Adrian did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII. a man of a reserved character, and prone to artifice [*y*]. This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1524, a cardinal legate, named Campegius, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of Luther, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who inveighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of *Worms*, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise Adrian had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of Campegius, by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against Luther and his adherents at the diet of *Worms*. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the edict of *Worms*, they, at the same time, renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at *Spire*. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the Reformation, retired to *Ratisbon*, with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause of

[*y*] See Jac. Zeigleri *Historia Clementis* VII. in Jo. Georgii Schelhornii *Amœnitates Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210.

of *Rome*, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute rigorously the edict of *Worms* in their respective dominions.

Carlostadt and Zuingle.

XXI. While the efforts of Luther towards the reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. Luther and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of *Rome* with respect to the *transubstantiation*, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery, which they did not pretend to explain [z]. Carlostadt, who was Luther's colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterwards illustrated and confirmed

☞ [z] Luther was not so modest as Dr. Mosheim here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the *real presence*, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red hot iron, said he, two distinct substances, *viz.* iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to shew into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

confirmed by Zuingle with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this: "That the body and blood of Christ were not "*really* present in the eucharist; and that the "bread and wine were no more than external "*signs*, or *symbols*, designed to excite in the "minds of Christians the remembrance of the "sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and "of the benefits which arise from it [*a*]." This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the Reformation in *Switzerland*, and by a considerable number of its votaries in *Germany*. On the other hand, Luther maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated, at length, in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

The war of the peasants.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effects of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other; and, by its unhappy consequences, was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the Reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose, like a whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of *Germany*, took arms, united their forces, waged war against

[*a*] See Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, part I. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 55.—See also, on the other side of the question, Scultet's *Annales Evangelii*, published by Von der hart, in his *Historia Litter. Reformat.* p. 74.—Rud. Hospinianus, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute.——☞ It appears from this representation (which is a just one) of the sentiments of Zuingle concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with those maintained by Bishop Hoadly, in his "Plain Account of the Nature and Design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants and vassals, who groaned under heavy burthens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *Rustic war*, or the war of the peasants [*b*]. But it is also certain, that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the *Declarations* and *Manifestoes* that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast Munzer [*c*] put himself at the head of this outrageous rab-

[*b*] These kinds of wars or commotions, arising from the impatience of the peasants, under the heavy burthens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of Luther. Hence the author of the *Danish Chronicle* (published by the learned Ludewig, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. MStorum*, p. 59.) calls these insurrections a *common-evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most places, the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive, and insupportable.

[*c*] Or Munster, as some call him.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia were soon directed towards a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to the diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned [*d*]; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and to add weight to this demand, pretended, that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflection or foresight into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose

[*d*] These burdens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself, has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed, in a pitched battle fought at *Mulhausen;* and Munzer, their ringleader, taken, and put to death [*e*].

Frederick the Wise dies, and is succeeded by John, 1525—1527.

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in *Germany*, Frederick *the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of *Wittemberg*, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while, on the one hand, he made no opposition to Luther's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose; yet, on the other, it is remarkable, that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector John, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and persuaded, that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without

[*e*] "Petri Gnodalii Historia de Seditione repentina Vulgi, præcipue Rusticorum, *A.* 1525, tempore verno per universam fere Germaniam exorta, *Basil*, 1570," in 8vo.—See also B. Tenzelii *Histor. Reform.* tom. ii. p. 331.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

out hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of *Rome*, in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should every where be supplied with pious and learned doctors, and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred functions. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of *Germany*, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches, which dissented from that of *Rome*. Thus may the elector John be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of Rome, and fenced about with salutary laws, with a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniences, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which this elector took for the reformation of the church; for, from that time, the religious differences between

tween the German princes, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of Frederick *the Wise*, who avoided every resolute measure that might be adapted to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of *Rome*, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union, which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well-cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the Reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

The diet of Spire in 1526.

XXIV. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of *Europe* disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet assembled at *Spire*, in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a man-

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ner more favourable to the friends of the Reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all further disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at *Worms* against Luther and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring, that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone. This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and, at length, consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed, that in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

The progress of the reformation after the diet at Spire, in 1527.

XXV. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was, at this time, so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that, for some years, it was not in his power

power to turn his attention to the affairs of *Germany* in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that to a political prince like Charles, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate, in favour of the Roman pontiff, the religious disputes which reigned in *Germany*, it is evident, that the inclination was wanting, and that Clement VII. who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of Charles V. For this pontiff, after the defeat of Francis I. at the battle of *Pavia*, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in *Italy*, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. And this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in *Italy*, laid siege to *Rome* in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events together with the liberty granted by the diet of *Spire*, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of *Rome*, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in *Saxony*. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the inte-

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

rests of the Roman pontiff, were, however, far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of *Rome*. And in general, all the Germans, who, before these *resolutions* of the diet of *Spire*, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, Luther and his fellow-labourers, particularly those who were with him at *Wittemberg*, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

Another diet held at Spire, in the year 1529.

XXVI. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of *Spire*, were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet assembled, in the year 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of *Europe*, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burthen that had, for some time, overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt by a disagreeable experience. For the power, which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as they thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority

Origin of the denomination of Protestants.

majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known [*f*]. This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor was any of them so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of *Rome*, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people; since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of *Rome*, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon *Ferdinand* [*g*], nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions (whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations), they entered a solemn *protest* against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council [*h*]. Hence arose the denomination

☞ [*f*] The resolution of the first diet of *Spire*, which had been taken *unanimously*, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a *plurality of voices*, which, as several of the princes then present observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.

[*g*] ☞ The emperor was at *Barcelona*, while this diet was held at *Spire*; so that his brother Ferdinand was president in his place.

☞ [*h*] The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first protestant princes, were John, elector of *Saxony*, George, elector of *Brandenburg*, for *Franconia*, Ernest and Francis, dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hessè*, and the prince of *Anhalt*.

These

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

nation of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of *Rome*.

Leagues formed between the Protestants.

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest*, than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from *Spain* to *Italy*, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers, employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes, whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain. The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented by a solemn confederacy. They, therefore, held several meetings at *Rot*, *Nuremberg*, *Smalcald*, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies [*i*]. But so different were

These princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, *viz. Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottigen, Windseim, Memmingen, Nortlingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Heilbron, Wissemburg*, and *St. Gall.*

[*i*] See the history of the confession of *Augsburg*, wrote in German, by the learned Christ. Aug. Salig. tom. i. book II. ch. i. p. 128. and more especially another German work of Dr. Joachim Muller, entitled, *Historie von der Evangelischen Stande Protestation gegen den Speyerchen Reichsabscheid von* 1529, *Appellation*, &c. published at *Jena* in 4to, in the year 1703.

were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity and discord between the friends of the Reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of *Saxony* and *Switzerland*, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the *eucharist*. To terminate this controversy, Philip, landgrave of *Hesse*, invited, in the year 1529, to a conference at *Marpurg*, Luther and Zuingle, together with some of the more eminent doctors, who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly *magnanimous* prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were Luther, who attacked Oecolampadius, and Melancthon, who disputed against Zuingle; and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For Zuingle was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design of the Lord's Supper, but also in consequence of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared

The conference at Marpurg, in the year 1529.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

peared entirely satisfactory, even to Luther himself. Their dissension concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify, their opinion of that matter [*k*]. The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of Providence, and the effects of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

The diet of Augsburg.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of Luther, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account was received of a design formed by that prince to come into *Germany*, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at *Augsburg*, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. Charles, though long absent from *Germany*, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflections upon these disputes, added the counsels of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at *Bologna*, insisted, in the most

[*k*] Val. Ern. Loescheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143.—Henr. Bullingeri *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. Conr. Fuesslin's compilation, intitled, *Beytragen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. iii. p. 156. See also the *Preface*, p. 80.—Abr. Scultetti *Annal. Reformat. ad A.* 1529.—Rudolph. Hospiniani *Histor. Sacramentar.* par. II. p. 72, &c.

most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move Clement VII. who maintained with zeal the papal prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate *heretical* faction, who dared to call in question the authority of *Rome* and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn, unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff, might be known with certainty. As, therefore, it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of *Rome* and the friends of the Reformation, the elector of *Saxony* ordered Luther, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of *Rome*. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at *Torgaw*, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at *Sulzbach* in the year 1529; and

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw* [*l*]. Though these articles were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at *Coburg* and *Augsburg*, to employ Melancthon in extending these *Articles*, in which important work he shewed a due regard to the counsels of Luther, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous *confession of Augsburg*, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of Melancthon.

The progress of the reformation in Sweden, about the year 1530.

XXX. During these transactions in *Germany*, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of *Europe* had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of *Rome* and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that Clement VII. was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in *Sweden*, soon after Luther's rupture with *Rome*, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was

[*l*] See Chr. Aug. Heumanni *Diss. de lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14.—Jo. Joach. Muller *Historia Protestationis;* and the other writers who have treated, either of the Reformation in general, or of the confession of *Augsburg* in particular.

was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public spirited prince, Gustavus Vassa Erickson, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, king of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at *Lubec*, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence [*m*]. Accordingly,

☞ [*m*] This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from *Stockholm*, a great number of German anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of *Munzer*, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the *Lutherans* dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible, that had been made by Olaus Petri [*n*]. Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference, at *Upsal*, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in *Sweden*. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its papagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at *Westeraas*, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops, in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free

But Gustavus no sooner returned to *Stockholm*, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time.

☞ [*n*] It is very remarkable, and shews the equity and candour of Gustavus in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered Olaus to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of *Upsal*, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; that, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

free admittance among the Swedes [*o*]. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre, and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch [*p*]. From this time the papal empire in *Sweden* was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church.

In Denmark.

XXXI. The light of the reformation was also received in *Denmark*, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian, or Christiern II. of having

☞ [*o*] It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in Sweden and Denmark. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent on the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the states assembled at Westeraas, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine, as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was however resolved, at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the Reformation.

[*p*] Bazii *Inventarium Eccles. Sueco-Gothor.* published in 4to at Lincoping, in 1642. Sculteti *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, in Von der Hart. *Histor. Liter. Reformat.* part V. p. 84. et 110. Raynal, *Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 1, &c.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of *Rome*. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of Carlostadt, out of *Saxony*, and appointed him professor of divinity at *Hafnia;* and after his death, which happened the year following, he invited Carlostadt himself, to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in *Denmark*, returned into *Germany*. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and indeed to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff.

It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings, Christiern II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects.

His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently shew, that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority, and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped [*q*], and of

[*q*] See Jo. Gramii *Diss. de Reformatione Daniæ à Christier no tentata,* in the third volume of the *Scriptores Societ. Scientar Hafniens.* p. 1—90.

of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprize. The states of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of *Denmark*, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors [*r*], and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle, Frederick, duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, placed on the throne of *Denmark*.

The progress of the Reformation under the reigns of Frederick and Christiern III.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther [*s*], but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of the states that was held at *Odensee* in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of *Denmark* free, either to adhere to the tenets of the church of *Rome*, or to

 embrace

[*r*] See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of Denmark to renounce their allegiance to Christiern II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of Ludewig's compilation, entitled, *Reliquiæ MStorum*, p. 515. in which (p. 321.) the states of Denmark express their displeasure at the royal favour shewn to the Lutherans in the following terms: "Lutheranæ hæresis pullatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, doctorum Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit."

[*s*] See Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 886.—Carist. Olivarii *Vita Pauli Eliæ*, p. 108.—Erici Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

embrace the doctrine of Luther [*t*]. Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of *Rome*. But the honour of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III. a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had sent for from *Wittemberg* to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at *Odensee*, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in *Denmark* [*u*].

XXXIII.

☞ [*t*] It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries, or other religious societies.

[*u*] Erici Pontoppidani, see a German work of the learned Pontoppidan, entitled, *A Compendious view of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at Lubec in 8vo, in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, of the same

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

XXXIII. It is however to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of *Sweden and Denmark*, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions, and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected, without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and, on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received [*w*]. In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly,

A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark.

same author, tom. ii. p. 790. tom. iii. p. 1.—"Henr. Muhlius de Reformat. religionis in vicinis Daniæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbria, in ejus Dissertationibus Historico-Theologicis," p. 24. *Killiæ*, 1715. in 4to.

☞ [*w*] This observation is not worthy of Dr. Mosheim's sagacity. The strong connection that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people, and influence and power in their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will, or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office, adorned with learning, piety, and morals; but the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

certainly, violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honours, privileges, and possessions, without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition [*x*]. The truth is, that so far as the reformation in *Sweden* and *Denmark* regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that, had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous

☞ [*x*] What does Dr. Mosheim mean here? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, Whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III.? and our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church-lands, towns and fortresses, annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of *Superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.

enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper; and in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of these nothern kingdoms in the time of Luther, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

The rise and progress of the reformation in France.

XXXIV. The kingdom of *France* was not inaccessible to the light of the Reformation. Margaret queen of *Navarre*, sister to Francis I. the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V. was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with her's, to propagate the principles of the Reformation in *France*, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that, so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

doctrine and tyranny of *Rome*, and among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened to support the doctrine of *Rome* by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet, and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity [*y*]. This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the Reformation. It is nevertheless true, that, under the reign of Francis I. the restorers of genuine Christianity were always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or, at best, no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles V. then did he treat the protestants in *France* with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off

[*y*] See Beze, *Histoire des Eglises Reformeés de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5.—Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. i. p. 6.—Christ. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confession.* vol. ii. p. 190.

off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable persecuting tyrant [z].

About this time the famous Calvin, whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of *Navarre*. He was born at *Noyon* in *Piccardy*, on the 10th of July 1509, and was bred up to the law [a], in which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by diligent perusal of the holy scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connections he had formed with the friends of the Reformation, whom Francis I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of

☞ [z] The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of Francis I. may be attributed to various reasons. At one time, we see him resolved to invite Melancthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the protestants. At another time, we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the Reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, that, "if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church." See Flor. de Remond, *Hist. de la Naissance et du Progres de l'Heresie*, livr. vii.

☞ [a] He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice; but the light that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterwards resumed in a purer church.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

of *Navarre*. To escape the impending storm, he retired to *Basil*, where he published his *Christian institutions;* and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I. which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince, against the protestants [*b*].

And in the other states of Europe.

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of *Rome* in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of *Augsburg*, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It however, appears from the most authentic testimonies, that, even before that period, the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret, progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had, in all these countries, many friends, of whom several repaired to *Wittemberg*, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed Reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of *Rome;* and, notwithstanding the calamities and persecutions they have suffered, on account of their sentiments under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition,

☞ [*h*] This paragraph relating to Calvin, is added to Dr. Mosheim's text by the translator, who was surprised to find, in a History of the Reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the Reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity; while in other, still more unhappy lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is, indeed, certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Reformation, from the time that the Confession of Augsburg *was presented to the emperor, until the commencement of the war which succeeded the league of* Smalcald.

I. CHARLES V. arrived at *Augsburg* the 15th of *June* 1530, and on the 20th day of the same month, the diet was opened. As it was unanimously agreed, that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the *protestant* members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, Christian Bayer, chancellor of *Saxony*, read, in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession which has been since

The confession of Augsburg presented to Charles V.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

since distinguished by the denomination of the *Confession of Augsburg*. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many, who, before this time, had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were, moreover, delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this *confession*, which, after being read, were delivered to the emperor, were signed and subscribed by John, elector of *Saxony*, by four princes of the empire, George, marquis of *Brandenburg*, Ernest, duke of *Lunenburg*, Philip, landgrave of *Hesse*, Wolfgang, prince of *Anhalt*, and by the imperial cities of *Nuremberg* and *Reutlingen*, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it [*c*].

The nature and contents of the confession of Augsburg.

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of *Augsburg* are well known; at least, by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the *protestants* as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. The *matter* was, undoubtedly, supplied by Luther, who, during the diet, resided at *Coburg*, a town in

[*c*] There is a very voluminous History of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in folio, at Frankfort on Oder, by the laborious George Celestine. The History of *The Confession of Augsburg*, was composed in Latin by David Chytræus, and more recently, in German, by Ern. Solom. Cyprian and Christopher. Aug. Salig. The performance of the latter is rather, indeed, a history of the Reformation in general, than of the Confession of Augsburg in particular. That of Cyprian is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

in the neighbourhood of *Augsburg;* and, even the form it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorised in consequence of his approbation and advice. This *confession* contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part [*d*] are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of *Rome* [*e*].

The Roman catholics attempt a refutation of the confession of Augsburg.

III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed John Faber, afterwards bishop of *Vienna*, together with Eckius, and another doctor named Cochlæus, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far

[*d*] Twenty-one chapters were so employed; the other seven contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*.

☞ [*e*] It is proper to observe here, that, while the Lutherans presented their confession to the diet, another excellent remonstrance of the same nature was addresssd to this august assembly by the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen, and Lindaw, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of Rome, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns (which was called the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, on account of their number) was drawn up by the excellent Martin Bucer, and was considered as a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the protestants, but even by several of the Roman catholics; and among others by Mr. Dupin. Zuingle also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is, however, remarkable, that though Bucer composed a separate remonstrance, yet his name appears among the subscribers at Smalcald, in the year 1537, to the confession of Augsburg, and to Melancthon's defence of it.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

far from being complied with. The Protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who, on this occasion, as well as on several others, shewed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any farther proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This, however, did not reduce the protestants to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by Faber, and had again recourse to the pen of Melancthon, who refuted them in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September, but which that prince refused to receive. This *answer* was afterwards enlarged by Melancthon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A Defence of the Confession of Augsburg.*

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious dissensions.

IV. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was, in reality, most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of *Rome*, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according

according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed. The second, and, at the same time, the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had so magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit some of their respective claims. This method which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men, on both sides; but it was ill-suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror, whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence, and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguine counsels of the court of *Rome*; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look upon it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

ferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides; and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties [*f*]; but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance, to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of *Rome*, exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the Reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands: but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a

☞ [*f*] As in the confession of Augsburg there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides, another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome; this gave some reason to hope, that by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work, at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterwards reduced to three. Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the Protestant party, and it was with a view to this that he resided at Coburg.

a spirit of intrepidity, ardour and independence, animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

The result of these conferences.

V. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates, between the friends of liberty and the votaries of *Rome*, proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th day of November, a severe decree was issued out, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and, in this decree, every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble (in about six months after the separation of the diet) a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled, beyond measure, in this partial decree: a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at *Worms* against Luther and his adherents; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, severely censured; and a solemn order addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to *Rome*, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance

CENT. XVI SECT. I.

of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church [*g*].

The league of Smalcald.

VI. No sooner were the elector of *Saxony* and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of *Augsburg*, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at *Smalcald*, afterwards at *Francfort*, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of *Augsburg*, without attempting, however, any thing, properly speaking, offensive against the votaries of *Rome*. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Denmark*, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance [*h*]. Amidst these emotions and preparations,

☞ [*g*] To give the greater degree of weight to this edict it was resolved, that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spire, which is the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

☞ [*h*] Luther, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it; but, uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of Zuingle among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. And yet we find that the cities of Ulm and Augsburg had embraced the Reformation on the principles of Zuingle.—In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII. king of England, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others: *viz.* That the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained

rations, which portended an approaching rupture, the elector Palatine, and the elector of *Mentz*, offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views towards peace. For, on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg* remained in force; and, on the other, the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of

 votes,

contained in the confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council;—that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions;—that he should never allow the Roman pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions;—that he should advance 100,000 crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that some if it became necessary; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the king answered, immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would maintain and promote the true doctrine of Christ; but, at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdom's, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them, in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine; but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, the king gave them a second answer more full and satisfactory; but upon the fall of queen Anne, this negociation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be of no longer service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and, on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with Henry, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

votes, at the diet of *Cologn*, in the year 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

The peace of Nuremberg.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed; and, after various negociations, a treaty of peace was concluded at *Nuremberg*, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes, on the following conditions; that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turk, and acknowledge Ferdinand lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of *Worms* and *Augsburg*, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed, either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when John, elector of *Saxony*, died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

A council expected in vain.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at *Nuremburg*, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in *Germany*, which, about this time, boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of Luther. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided *Europe* was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been

so

so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest request to Clement VII. that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard what he could not, with any decency, absolutely refuse [*i*]. He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently shewed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at *Mantua*, *Placentia*, or *Bologna;* but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted, that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of *Germany*, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, eluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems [*k*].

IX. His successor Paul III. seemed to shew less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at *Mantua;* and, the

☞ [*i*] Besides the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, another reason engaged Clement VII. to avoid an assembly of that nature; for being conscious of the illegitimacy of his birth, as Frao Paulo observes, he had ground to fear that the Colonnas, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a *profligate* may.

[*k*] See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in Fra. Paulo's *History of the council of Trent*, book I.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

year following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction [*l*]. The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded, that, in such a council [*m*], all things would be carried by the votaries of *Rome*, and nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at *Smalcald* in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by Paul III. but, at the same time, had a new *summary* of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the *Articles of Smalcald*, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

New outrages committed by the Anabaptists.

X. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the Reformation in particular, and produced, in *Germany*, civil tumults and commotions of the most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new

☞ [*l*] This council was summoned by Paul III. to assemble at Mantua, on the 23d of May, 1537, by a bull issued out the 2d of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. Frederick, duke of Mantua, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.

☞ [*m*] That is, in a council assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in Italy; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give Paul III. an undue influence in that assembly. The protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of Europe had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council; and that so much the more, as the Roman pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

a new sedition, kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists;* and the latter, the rupture between Henry VIII. king of *England,* and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch.

In the year 1533, there came to *Munster,* a city in *Westphalia,* a certain number of *anabaptists,* who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the frenzy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of *Munster* by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic [*n*], conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to John Bockholt, a taylor by profession, and a native of *Leyden.* Their reign, however, was of a short duration; for, in the year 1535, the city was besieged, and taken by the bishop of *Munster,* assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates were put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of an handful of anabaptists, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty

[*n*] This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the *New Jerusalem.*

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms [*o*].

Great Britain renounces the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

XI. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in *England*, by an event, which, at first, did not seem to promise such important consequences. Henry VIII. a prince who in vices and in abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution [*p*]. Bound in the chains of matrimony to Catharine of *Arragon*, aunt to Charles V. but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was Anna Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter [*q*]. For this purpose, he addressed himself

[*o*] Hermanni Hammelmanni *Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per inferiorum Saxoniam et Westphal.* part. II. p. 1196. opp.—De Printz *Specimen Historiæ Anabapt.* c. x, xi, xii. p. 94.

☞ This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, Ubbo and Mennon, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

☞ [*p*] Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of Henry VIII. there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. Hume, in his *History of England*, under the house of Tudor. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has catched from nature the striking lines of Henry's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

☞ [*q*] From Dr. Mosheim's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of Anna Boleyn were the only motive that engaged Henry to dissolve his marriage with Catharine. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance

himself to the Roman pontiff Clement VII. in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother Arthur, and, as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. Clement was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor, in case his decision was favourable to Henry; and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the Romish pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterwards raised to the see of *Canterbury*. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared

acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate Anna. Conversant in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by Cardinal Wolsey's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of Francis I. which that pliant courtier would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all, it is very possible, that the age and infirmities of Catharine, together with the blooming charms of Anna Boleyn, tended much to animate Henry's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation.* Hume's *History of the house of Tudor.* p. 150.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

clared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. Catharine was consequently divorced; Anna conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Clement; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of *Rome*, by Henry's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, Henry was declared by the parliament and people *supreme head, on earth, of the church of England*, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues appplied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned [*r*].

The nature and effects of this first step towards the Reformation in England.

XII. It is however carefully to be observed here, that this downfal of the papal authority in *England* was not productive of much benefit, either to the friends or to the cause of the Reformation. For the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of *Rome*, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Besides, he considered the title of *Head of the English church*, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed, usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and, in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorised to prescribe

[*r*] Besides the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in Bishop Burnet's excellent *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in Wilkin's *Concil. Magnæ Britaniæ et Hiberniæ*, tom. iii. p. 424.—Raynal, *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. part II. p. 90.—*Gen. Dictionary* at the article *Boleyn*.

scribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that, during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of Cranmer, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the Reformation, counteracted, however, in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the Reformation [*s*].

A new project of pacification.

XIII. After the meeting of the council of *Mantua* was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of *Rome*, whose legates and creatures were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those councils that seemed unfavourable to the ambition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, regardless of the bishop of *Rome*, appointed a conference at *Worms*, on the subject of Religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen out of each of the contending parties. It was here that Melancthon and Eckius disputed during the space of three days.

Conference of Worms.

[*s*] Besides Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, see Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 11.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

days [*t*]. This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet which was held at *Ratisbon* that same year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial, presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation that were proper to terminate these religious differences [*u*]. This conference, however, produced no other effect, than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council; or, if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

Diet of Ratisbon.

All things tend to an open rupture.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of *Ratisbon;* and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the diet, which was assembled at *Spire* in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that *Trent* should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both against a council summoned by the papal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity of the Roman pontiff. This protestation produced no effect; Paul III. persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular letters

[*t*] See Jo. And. Roederi *Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi Norimb.* 1744, in 4to.

[*u*] See Jo. Erdmann Bieckii *Triplex Interim*, cap. i. p. 1.

letters for the convocation of the council [*w*], with the approbation of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of *Worms*, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to

☞ [*w*] It is proper to observe here, that having summoned successively a council at *Mantua*, *Vicenza*, and *Venice*, without any effect *, this pontiff thought it necessary to shew the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation; and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of *Rome* in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that his project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and, that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of Erasmus should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. Anthony, and several other saints, should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. Peter's Church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at *Rome*, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation (which Luther and Sturmius of *Strasburg* turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained) were published at *Antwerp* in, or about the year 1539, with the answer of Cochlæus to the objections of Sturmius. They are likewise prefixed to the *History of the Council of Trent*, by Crabre, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612 †.

* This council was never assembled.

† See Paulin, in Paul III. Sled. l. xii. Univers. Mod. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 30.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

to the meeting of this council at *Trent*. But the protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of Charles were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of *Rome*, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and, listening to the sanguine counsels of Paul, formed, in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms. The landgrave of *Hesse*, and the elector of *Saxony*, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed unawares by a superior force, and, accordingly, raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of February, in the year 1546, at *Aysleben*, the place of his birth.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Reformation, from the commencement of the war of Smalcald, to the famous Pacification, commonly called the Peace of Religion, concluded at Augsburg.

The commencement of the war of Smalcald.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the council of *Trent*. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking

taking arms; and accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the diet of *Ratisbon*, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would sooner or later be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of *Trent*, promulgated their decrees: while the protestant princes in the diet of *Ratisbon* protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

The affairs of the protestants take an unfavourable turn.

II. The elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse* led their forces into *Bavaria* against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at *Ingolstadt* with great spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and, probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon, principally, the perfidy of Maurice, duke of *Saxony*, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle John Frederick, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor, among the confederate princes, the failure of *France* in furnishing the subsidy that had

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

had been promised by its monarch; and other incidents of less moment. All these things discouraged so the heads of the protestant party, that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of *Saxony* directed his march homewards. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and as there is too much reason to think by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near *Muhlberg* on the *Elbe*, on the 24th of April, 1547, and after a bloody action, that of the elector, being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Philip, landgrave of *Hesse*, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law, Maurice, now declared elector of *Saxony* [*x*], to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of Charles for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but, notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said, that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other [*y*]; but this

☞ [*x*] In the room of John Frederick, whom he had so basely betrayed.

☞ [*y*] There is scarcely in history any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew, without alleging any reason, nay, any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When Maurice remonstrated

this point of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing [z].

The famous temporary edict, called the Interim.

III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of *Augsburg*, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and dispatch, the emperor required of the protestants, that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at *Trent*. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and among others, Maurice, the new elector of *Saxony*, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law the landgrave of *Hesse*. This general submission to the will of the emperor did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn, and almost universal approbation of the council of *Trent*. A plague, which manifested itself, or was said to do so, in that city, engages the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to *Bologna*, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties or remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to re-assemble it again

strated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and, to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a *perpetual prison*, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means *any prison*. This matter is, however, contested by some historians.

[z] See a German work entitled, Beni Grosch Vertheidigung *der* Evangelischen Kirken gegen Gottrf. Arnold. p. 29.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

without delay. While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary during this *interval*, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered Julius Pflugius, bishop of *Naumburg*, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pontiff, and John Agricola, a native of *Aysleben*, to draw up a *Formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim* [*a*].

IV. This

☞ [*a*] This project of Charles was formed, partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or temporary rule of faith and worship here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of Trent. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in aftertimes appeared in the deceitful exposition of the Catholic faith, by M. Bossuet, bishop of *Meaux*, and it was almost equally rejected by the Protestants and Roman Catholics. The cup was allowed, by this imperial creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions; "1. That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting. 2. That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period when a general council should terminate all religious differences." This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case

The troubles to which this edict gave rise.

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of *Rome*, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed; it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of Luther, and to the Roman pontiff. It was, however, promulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the diet of *Augsburg;* and the elector of *Mentz*, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*. Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interrupted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book* as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this Imperial Creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms, and hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities. Maurice, elector of *Saxony*, who, for some time, had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the *rule* in question, assembled in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with Melancthon at the head of the latter, and, in several conferences held at *Leipsic* and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be

 done

case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

[*a*] See Jo. Erdm. Bieckii *Triplex Interim*, published in 8vo. at Leipsic, in the year 1721.—Luc. Osiander *Centuria* XVI. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. lxviii. p. 425.—For an account of the authors and editions of the book called *Interim*, see *Die Danische Biblioth.* part. V. p. 1. and part VI. p. 185.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous; for Melancthon, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a reconciling sentence, which, he hoped, would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not by any means, be adopted by the friends of the Reformation; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason, why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or *indifferent* [*b*]. This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of Luther, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the *History of the Church* established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the Reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them, of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

The project of a council at Trent renewed.

V. Amidst these contests Paul III. departed this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by Julius III. who, yielding to the

☞ [*b*] By things *indifferent*, Melancthon understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at *Trent*. Accordingly, in the diet of *Augsburg*, which was again held under the cannon of an Imperial army, Charles laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also Maurice, elector of *Saxony*, submitted upon certain conditions [*c*]. The emperor then concluded the diet in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours towards the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of Melancthon, and the Wurtemberghers that of Bredtius, to draw up *confessions* of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Besides the ambassadors of the duke of *Wurtemberg*, several doctors of that city repaired to *Trent*. The Saxon divines, with Melancthon at their head,

☞ [*c*] Maurice (who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of Saxony, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector John Frederick, his benefactor and friend) gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of Trent upon the following conditions;—1*st*, That the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined and discussed anew: 2*dly*, That this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3*dly*, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of *voting* as well as of *deliberating*, in the council. And, 4*thly*, That the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of Maurice was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of Mentz, however, obstinately refused.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no further than *Nuremberg*. They had received secret orders to stop there; for Maurice had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

Maurice disconcerts the schemes of the emperor.

VI. The real views of Charles V. amidst the divisions and troubles of *Germany* (which he fomented by negociations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit), will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power, and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprizes, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, Charles proposed to turn these religious commotions and dissensions to the confirmation and increase of his dominion in *Germany*, and by sowing the seeds of discord among the princes of the empire, to weaken their power, and thereby the more easily to encroach upon their rights and privileges. On the other hand, ardently desirous of reducing within narrower limits the jurisdiction and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, that they might not set bounds to his ambition, nor prevent the execution of his aspiring views; he flattered himself that this would be the natural effect of the approaching council. He was confirmed in this pleasing hope, by reflecting on what had happened in the councils of *Constance* and of *Basil*, in which the lust of papal ambition had been opposed with spirit, and restrained within certain limits. He also persuaded himself, that, by the dexterity of his agents, and the number of the Spanish and German bishops that were devoted to his interests, he should be able to influence and direct the deliberations of the

the approaching council in such a manner, as to make its decisions answer his expectations, and contribute effectually to the accomplishment of his views. Such were the specious dreams of ambition that filled the imagination of this restless prince; but his views and projects were disconcerted by that same Maurice of *Saxony*, who had been one of the principal instruments of that violence and oppression which he had exercised against the protestant princes, and of the injury he had done to the protestant cause.

A war kindled between the emperor and Maurice of Saxony.

VII. The most considerable princes, not only of *Germany*, but even of all *Europe*, had, for a long time addressed to the emperor their united entreaties for the deliverance of Philip, landgrave of *Hesse*, and John Frederick, elector of *Saxony*, from their confinement; and Maurice had solicited with peculiar warmth and assiduity, the liberty of the former, who was his father-in-law. But all these solicitations produced no effect. Maurice, perceiving at length that he was duped by the emperor, and also convinced that this ambitious monarch was forming insidious designs upon the liberties of *Germany*, and the jurisdiction of its princes, entered, with the utmost secrecy and expedition, into an alliance with the king of *France* and several of the German princes, for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the empire. Encouraged by this respectable confederacy, the active Saxon marched a powerful army against the emperor in the year 1552; and that with such astonishing valour and rapidity, that he surprised Charles at *Inspruk*, where he lay with a handful of troops in the utmost security, and without the least apprehension of danger. This sudden and unforeseen event alarmed and dejected the emperor to such a degree, that he was willing to make peace on almost any conditions; and consequently, in a little time after this, he not

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

only concluded at *Passau*, the famous treaty of *Pacification* with the protestants [*d*], but also promised to assemble, in the space of six months, a diet, in which all the tumults and dissensions that had been occasioned by a variety of sentiments in religious matters should be entirely removed. Thus did the same prince, who stands foremost in the list of those that oppressed the protestants, and reduced their affairs to the greatest extremities, restore their expiring hopes, support and render triumphant their desperate cause, and procure them a bulwark of peace and liberty, which still remains. Maurice, however, did not live to see this happy issue of his following expedition; for he lost his life the year following, by a wound received at the battle of *Siverhausen*, while he was fighting against Albert of *Brandenburg* [*e*].

VIII. The

☞ [*d*] As this treaty is considered by the German protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, it will not be amiss to insert here some of its principal articles. By the three first articles it was stipulated, that Maurice and the confederates should lay down their arms, and should lend their troops to Ferdinand to defend them against the Turks, and that the landgrave of *Hesse* should be set at liberty. By the fourth it was agreed that the rule of faith called *Interim*, should be considered as null and void; that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, until a diet should be assembled to determine amicably the present disputes, (which diet was to meet in the space of six months); and that this religious liberty should continue always, in case that it should be found impossible to come to an uniformity in doctrine and worship. It was also resolved, that all those who had suffered banishment, or any other calamity, on account of their having been concerned in the league or war of *Smalcald*, should be re-instated in their privileges, their possessions, and employments; that the Imperial chamber at *Spire* should be open to the protestants as well as to the catholics; and that there should be always a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion in that high court.

☞ [*e*] Albert, marquis of *Brandenburg* after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman catholics; and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire, that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which Maurice was placed.

The diet of Augsburg, and the peace of religion.

VIII. The troubles of *Germany*, with several other incidents, rendered it impossible to assemble the diet, which the emperor had promised at the pacification of *Passau*, so soon as the period mentioned in the articles of that treaty. This famous diet met, however, at *Augsburg*, in the year 1555, was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For, after various debates, the following memorable acts were passed, on the 25th of September: that the protestants who followed the confession of *Augsburg*, should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves, relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest, and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, and on account of their opinions, should be declared and proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace [*f*]. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the

[*f*] See Jo. Schilteri *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to. in the year 1700.—Christ Lehmanni *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa. Francif.* 1707.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

the warm debates, the violent animosities, and bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, shew us, in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record, as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Reformation.

The Reformation gains ground in England.

IX. While these things were transacting in *Germany*, the friends of genuine Christianity in *England* deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion; and, seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terrors of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate the pretended crime of preferring the dictates of the gospel to the despotic laws of *Rome*, they esteemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. Henry VIII. whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation, was now no more. He departed this life in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son Edward VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in *England*, and addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the reformation in *England*, he might purge his dominions

nions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister, Mary, (the daughter of Catharine of *Arragon*, from whom Henry had been separated by the famous divorce), a furious bigot to the church of *Rome*, and a princess, whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the British throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws, and the tyrannical yoke of *Rome* upon the people of *England*. Nor were the methods she employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And, among many other victims, the learned and pious Cranmer, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the Reformation in *England*, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded in the year 1558, by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and, as soon as her successor, the lady Elizabeth, ascended the throne, all things assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, councils, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of *Rome*,

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

Rome, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which still subsists in *England*. This religious establishment differs, in some respects, from the plan that had been formed by those whom Edward VI. had employed for promoting the cause of the reformation, and approaches nearer to the rites and discipline of former times; though it is widely different, and in the most important points entirely opposite to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

In Scotland.

X. The seeds of the Reformation were very early sown in *Scotland*, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in *Germany* during the religious disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction was John Knox [*g*], a disciple of Calvin, whose eloquence

☞ [*g*] It will not be improper to insert here the character of this famous Scottish reformer, as it is drawn by the spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. Robertson in his *History of Scotland*, book VI. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness (says that incomparable writer) were virtues which "he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted "too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to "rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often "too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. "Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence "to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of "rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen's person and "conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now rendered his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of providence for advancing the reformation among "a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to "surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle "spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearied

eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible [*h*]. This resolute reformer set out from *Geneva* for *Scotland*, in the year 1559, and in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of *Rome*, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery [*i*]. From this period to the present times, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline that had been established at *Geneva* by the ministry of Calvin, has been maintained in *Scotland* with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of *England* has proved impotent aud unsuccessful [*k*].

XI. The

" ried application to study and to business, as well as by the " frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn " out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering ill- " ness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the ap- " proaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his " character. He was constantly employed in acts of devo- " tion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immor- " tality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, " but fill them with exultation in their last moments."

☞ [*h*] The earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for Knox, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity; " There lies He who never feared the face of man."

[*i*] See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165, 232, 234, 569.—Calderwood's *History of Scotland's Reformation*, published in folio at London, in the year 1680.—Georg. Buchanani *Rerum Scoticar Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 313. edit. *Rudimann.* folio.—Melvil's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

☞ [*k*] The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the vices of the clergy, was soon transferred to their persons, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the reformation extended, not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in Germany, England, and the

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

XI. The cause of the reformation underwent, in *Ireland*, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that

In Ireland.

the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and episcopal hierarchy (which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire,) was still continued in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the dioceses and jurisdiction of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called *Presbyterian*. The situation of the primitive church (oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank for want of ambition to propose, or power to support a subordination) suggested, without doubt, the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to allege this consideration as a victorious argument in favour of Presbyterianism; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of Geneva, which received the decisions of Calvin with an amazing docility, restored this presbyterian or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; Knox studied, admired and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotch nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But, in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but, instead of bishops, proposed the establishment of ten superintendents, to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up, and presented to a convention of estates which was held in the year 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning been insinuated in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the

that had attended it in *England*. When Henry VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared *supreme head upon earth, of the church of England*, George Brown, a native of *England*, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of *Dublin*, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence, as well as authority he had in *Ireland*, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation [*l*]. Henry shewed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still farther progress was made

the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name, as well as their order, was abolished at the revolution in 1688, and presbyterianism established in Scotland by the laws of the state. See Robertson's *History of Scotland*, passim.

☞ [*l*] The learned and pious primate Usher, in his memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, speaks of Bishop Brown in the following manner; "George Brown was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright; to the poor, merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in England, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII. he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of Dublin. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Creed*, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church of England." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, p. 558. intitled, *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland*, &c.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of Bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in *Ireland*, as it had done in *England* [*m*]. Mary pursued with fire and sword, and

☞ [*m*] Here Dr. Mosheim has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the designs of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their execution, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, earl of Cork, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows:

" Queen Mary having dealt severely with the protestants in " England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission " for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to ex- " ecute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one " of the commissioners. This Doctor coming with the commis- " sion to Chester on his journey, the mayor of that city, hearing " that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and " he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse " with the mayor, taketh out of a cloke-bag a leather box, say- " ing unto him, " Here is a commission that shall lash the he- " retics of Ireland," (calling the protestants by that title.) The " good woman of the house, being well affected to the protes- " tant religion, and also having a brother named John Edmonds, " of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at " the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time while " the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him " down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, " and places in lieu thereof, a sheet of paper, with a pack of " cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced up- " permost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting " nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. " The next day, going to the water side, wind and weather " serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the 7th " of October, 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the castle, " the lord Fitz-Walters, being lord-deputy, sent for him to " come before him and the privy-council; who, coming in, " after he had made a speech relating upon what account he " came over, he presents the box unto the Lord-deputy, who " causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the " com-

and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in *England* [*n*].

The Reformation takes place in the United provinces.

XII. The Reformation had not been long established in *Britain*, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. Philip II. king of *Spain*, apprehending the danger to which the religion of *Rome* was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe

" commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the " knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord- " deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had " a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the " lord-deputy made answer, " Let us have another commis- " sion, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while." The " doctor being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned " into England; and coming to the court, obtained another " commission; but staying for a wind on the water side, news " came to him that the queen was dead; and thus God pre- " served the protestants of Ireland."

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by Lord Fitz Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, or *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 308.—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.

[*n*] See the life of Dr. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, published at London in 4to, in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, No. LXXIX.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

and barbarous laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the *inquisition*, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the superstitions of *Rome* accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one, by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an *association*, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but, their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force, what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an abused people, spurned the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impetuosity and vehemence that were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of *Rome* [o]. To quell these

☞ [o] Dr. Mosheim seems here to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more temperate and decent than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more tumultuous and irregular than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governess (the duchess of Parma,) to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The Prince of Orange and Count Egmont (whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism

these tumults, a powerful army was sent from *Spain*, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derive its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of *Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, seconded by the succours of *England* and *France*, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion, as it was professed in *Switzerland*, was established in the United Provinces [*p*]; and, at the same time, an universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of *Rome*, or embraced the Reformation in another form [*q*], provided still that they made no attempts against the authority of the government, or the tranquillity of the public [*r*].

XIII. The

otism and sacred liberty throughout the world) signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that, had the imperious court of Spain condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See Le Clerc *Histoire des Prov. Un.* livr. i. p. 18.

[*p*] In the year 1573.

☞ [*q*] It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman Catholics, and that which the Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other protestant sects, enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the state; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

[*r*] See a farther account of this matter in Gerhard

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

The progress of the Reformation in Spain and Italy.

XIII. The Reformation made a considerable progress in *Spain* and *Italy* soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of *Italy*, but more especially in the territories of *Venice*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*, the religion of *Rome* lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of *Naples* in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy Don Pedro di Toledo [*s*]. In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the Reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of *Italy*. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of *Rome*, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the *inquisition*, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of *Italy*, could not penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman

Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which there was a French abridgment published at Amsterdam, in three volumes 12mo, in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch, in four volumes 4to.

[*s*] See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108.—Vita Galeacii *in Museo Helvetico*, tom. ii. p. 524.

Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors [*t*].

The eyes of several persons in *Spain*, were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between Luther and

☞ [*t*] It was an attempt to introduce a Roman Inquisitor into the city of Naples, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attributes in this section to the pulpit discourses of Ochino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared that "he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep." After Ochino's departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy Toledo, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melancthon and Erasmus to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning; and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired Pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterwards made, during the reign of Philip II. III. IV. and Charles II. to establish the inquisition in Naples; but, by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor Charles VI. in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith to be tried by any persons except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxxii. sect. 2. and 3.—*Modern Univ. History*, vol. xxviii. p. 273, &c. edit. octavo.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

Rome had excited in *Europe*, but even by those very divines, which Charles V. had brought with him into *Germany*, to combat the pretended *heresy* of the reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances [*u*]. But the *inquisition*, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of *Naples*, reigned triumphant in *Spain*; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion [*w*].

What judgment we are to form concerning the Reformation and the means by which it was produced.

XIV. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of the Reformation will

☞ [*u*] This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended Charles V. and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterwards committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustin Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of the learned Egidius, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa; of Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and Queen Mary, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave reason to presume that Charles V. died a protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of Rome, and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith; though business, ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflections. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and the book cited in the following note.

[*w*] See Geddes, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous tracts*, tom. i. p. 445.

will ingeniously acknowledge, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and, what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interest, than by a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But, on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that many things which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us at this time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity, and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending the cause of the Reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views, and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here, is, Whether the opposition made, by Luther and other reformers, to the Roman pontiff, was founded on just and solid reasons? and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons [*x*]. Let many of these persons be supposed as odious, nay, still more detestable, than they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good.

☞ [*x*] The translator has added here some paragraphs, to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.

APPENDIX I.

Concerning the SPIRIT *and* CONDUCT *of the first Reformers, and the charge of* ENTHUSIASM, *(i. e.* fanaticism*), that has been brought against them by a celebrated Author.*

THE candour and impartiality, with which Dr. Mosheim represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the Reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowledges, that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause; and, in the very nature of things, it could not be otherwise. It is one of the most inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependants; and the unhappy effects of a party spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution that delivered a great part of *Europe* from the ignominious yoke of the Roman pontiff. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety,

piety, and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of dependants, admirers and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many things, which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct and measures of some of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence, if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the spirit which animated the first and principal reformers, who arose in times of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of Rome, and upon what principles a Luther, a Zuingle, a Calvin, a Melancthon, a Bucer, &c. embarked in the arduous cause of the Reformation? This question, indeed, is not at all necessary to the defence of the Reformation, which rests upon the strong foundations of scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent on the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But until the

more

more than Jesuitical and disingenious Philips resumed the trumpet of calumny [*a*], even the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

These eminent men were indeed attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. Hume, so justly celebrated as one of the first favourites of the historical muse, has, in his history of England, and more especially in the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, represented the character and temper, of the first reformers in a point of view, which undoubtedly shews, that he had not considered them with that close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflections. He has laid it down as a principle, that *superstition* and *enthusiasm* are two species of religion that stands in diametrical opposition to each other; and seems to establish it as a fact, that the former is the genius of popery, and the latter the characteristic of the Reformation. Both the principle and its application must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

First, Persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and eccentric movements, must be surprised to see superstition and fanaticism [*b*] represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been seen often together, holding

[*a*] See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. Pye, the learned Dr. Neve, and other commendable writers who have appeared in this controversy.

[*b*] I use the word *fanaticism* here, instead of *enthusiasm*, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shewn presently, Mr. Hume takes *enthusiasm*, in its worst sense, when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with, fanaticism. Besides, this latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm, by this celebrated historian, in characterising the Reformation.

holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and indeed if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear, not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. *Superstition*, which consists in false and abject notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless fears of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites, that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly at the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is *fanaticism*, but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an over heated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a cheerful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *Fanaticism*, in the famous *Dictionnaire Encylopedique*, published at *Paris*, to define it [*c*] as "a blind and passionate zeal, which ariseth from *superstitious* opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort;" from which the author concludes, that "*fanaticism* is really nothing more than *superstition* set in motion." This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of false religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and mis-representing the true. It is, however, a testimony from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favour of the compatibility of *fanaticism* with *superstition*. These

[*c*] The words of the original are: "Le fanatisme est un zele aveugle et passionné, qui nait des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes et cruelles, non seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joye et de consolation. Le fanatisme donc n'est que la superstition mise en mouvement."

These two principles are evidently distinct; because *superstition* is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgment perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas *fanaticism* is the offspring of an inflamed *imagination*, and may exist where there is no superstition, *i. e.* no false or gloomy notions of the Divinity. But though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, mutual strength and assistance to each other.

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither, in the *second place*, can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon *superstition* as a more predominant characteristic of popery than *fanaticism;* and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent History, but appears to be the basis of all the reflexions he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of *Rome* before the Reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were, at least, as visible and frequent, as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united their visions and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is, more especially, well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishments (that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury), were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and such like wild delusions of an overheated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new convent

convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter;—by no means;—imposture there was; and it was frequently employed: but impostors made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit. Were I to recount with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the extasies, visions, seraphic amours, celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odour of sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous *conformities* of St. Francis, the illuminations of St. Ignatius, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonoured humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. Mosheim's account of those ages that more immediately preceded the Reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, *purely fanatical*, arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all—for it must be carefully observed that even those extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in *Germany*, about the commencement of the Reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of Luther, nay, many of them passed directly from popery to fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that besides the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, Seckendorf speaks of a sect that merits this denomination, which had spread in the *Netherlands*, before Luther raised his

his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments; nay, even affected a devout compliance with the external rites of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the *third place*, the friends of the Reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find *enthusiasm*, or *fanaticism*, laid down by Mr. Hume as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception, or distinction, made in favour of any one of the reformers. That *fanaticism* was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the Reformation, is a fact which I do not pretend to deny; and it may be worthy of the reader's curiosity, to consider for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty, which the Reformation introduced and granted (in consequence of its essential principles) indiscriminately to all, to learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniences, or, at least, are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a *natural right*, but not a *discerning principle*, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come in along with it. If *reason* came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; *imagination*, also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical phantoms were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the Reformation,

formation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar in this, to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructifies *indiscriminately* the *salutary plant* in the well-cultivated ground, and the *noxious weed* in a rank and neglected soil. And as the Reformation had no such miraculous influence (not to speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not entirely been removed from its more advanced stages) as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fanaticism and superstition to sow their *tares* among the *good seed;* and this will probably be the case until the *end of the world.* It is here, that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm that has dishonoured the christian name, and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods of time since the Reformation; and for which the Reformation is no more responsible, than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The Reformation established the sacred and unalienable right of private judgment; but it could not hinder the private judgment of many from being wild and extravagant.

The Reformation, then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be, and were often made of the liberty it introduced. If you ask, indeed, what was the *temper* and *spirit* of the *first* heralds of this happy Reformation, Mr. Hume will tell you, *that they* were *universally* inflamed with the highest *enthusiasm.* This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers, might

might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, nay, even honourable to the character of these eminent men. For, if by *enthusiasm* we understand that spirit of ardour, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance have made a deep impression upon their minds: the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of *enthusiasm* is a noble affection, when fitly placed and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the *great* and *excellent*, that forms heroes and patriots; and without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger or prejudice to our temporal interests, can neither be attempted with vigour, or executed with success. Nay, had this ingenious writer observed, that the ardour of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions, candour would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism, in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the *inflexible intrepidity, with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itself*; but he calls them *the fanatical and enraged reformers:* he indicates, through the whole course of his history, fanaticism as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders; the terms *protestant fanaticism*—*fanatical churches* are interspersed in various parts of this work; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the *rational* and *enthusiastic*, the *wise* and *indiscreet* friends of the Reformation. In short, we find a phraseology

logy constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make reformers and fanatics synonymous terms. We are told, that while absurd rites and burthensome superstitions reigned in the Romish church, the reformers were *thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion;* and in another place, that these latter *placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstacy.* It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dexterous strokes of a seducing pencil; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form imperceptibly, an unfavourable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants, in all ages and places, are stigmatized by Mr. Hume with very dishonourable titles; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish inquisition in *Holland*, whose proceedings were so moderate, and whose complaints were so humble, until the barbarous yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable; it struck me, I say, to see these generous patriots branded with the general character of *bigots*. This is certainly a severe appellation; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security under the auspicious shade of that very liberty which the Reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes (or *bigots*—if we must call them so) shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the

phraseology employed perpetually by Mr. Hume, on similar occasions, seem to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favour of the Reformation. Nay, upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall be obliged to brand with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the Revolution in 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government; and to rank the Burnets, Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, and other *immortal* ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a Boyle, a Newton, or a Locke, will escape a censure, which is lavished without mercy and without distinction.—But my present business is with the *first reformers*, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger, Beza, Oecolampadius, and others. Now these were *all* men of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy (in which the fate of future ages, with respect to liberty, was to be decided) with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse, or seduced by the delusions of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations and impulses;—they never attempted to work miracles, nor pleaded a Divine commission;—they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation;—they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience which God has made free, and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free. They maintained, that the faith of Christians was to be determined by the word of God alone;—they

they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history.—They translated the scriptures into the popular languages of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the scriptures, to break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and to assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an unalienable right as reasonable beings. Mr. Hume himself acknowledges, that they offered to submit *all religious doctrines to private judgment, and exhorted every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him.* In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of *Rome* [*d*], of which Mr. Hume himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms as those which were used by Luther and Calvin in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowledge it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersion of *Fanaticism*, which is cast both on the spirit of the Reformation, and the principal agents concerned in it. A man may be over-zealous in the advancement of what he supposes to be, the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a *fanatic:* unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal

[*d*] See the sensible and judicious Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain (such is the title), that were published at Edinburgh in the year 1756; and in which some points, which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon and illustrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner.

of the reformers was the result of that ardour, which takes place in all divisions and parties that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of the goodness of their end, and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures, which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflection, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper,—the provocation of unjust and violent opposition,—a spirit of sympathy, which connects, in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm;—nay, frequently the pride of conquest, which mingles itself, imperceptibly, with the best principles and the most generous views, all these produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected, that some writers, and Mr. Hume among others, may have given too high colours to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir Robert Cotton, that has much meaning, "most men *(says he)* grew to be frozen in zeal "and benumbed, so whosoever pretended a little "*spark of earnestness*, he seemed no less than red "fire hot, in comparison of the other."

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments, than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal; more especially, every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interest of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There may be, nevertheless, cases, in which a zeal (not that breathes a spirit of persecution; but) that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance,

temperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; nay, not only *useful*, but *necessary*. This assertion I advance almost against my will—because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse—the assertion however is true, though the cases must be singularly important and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the Reformation was one of these cases, and, all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers *might have been* (I do not say that they *really were*) as much the effect of provident reflection, as of natural fervour and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in these times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of Rome, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances, combined, what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred; No doubt, the improbability that cool philosophy, dispassionate reason, and affectionate remonstrances would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And, if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind with religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply even a violent remedy, if that were *necessary*, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem that Luther acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. Mosheim's History, or any other impartial ac-

count of the XVIth century, will find, that Luther's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences, was carried on, at first, in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet of *Worms*, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless both respectful and modest. But when all general measures proved ineffectual, then, indeed, he acted with redoubled vigour, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and (I repeat it) reflection might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing, perhaps, merely to his resentment, and the natural warmth of his temper inflamed by opposition. Certain it is, at least, that neither the elegant satires of Erasmus (had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty), nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle Melancthon (who was really such), would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some *reason;* but neither of the two could make them *act*, or set them in motion. In such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of *Europe*, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to Calvin, every one, who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the Reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style; and which, though tinctured with the scholastic theology of the

the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, in which the learned writer shews, that the doctrine of the reformers was founded in scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to shew, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain *fanatics*, who, about the time of the Reformation, sprung from the bosom of the church of *Rome*, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The French monarch (Francis I.), to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the Reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in *Germany*, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged, that his severity fell, *only*, upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of *Anabaptists*, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Holy Scriptures. To vindicate the Reformers from this reproach, Calvin wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of Calvin that I have perused. His Commentary upon the Old and New Testament is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unprejudiced and impartial inquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, nay, several of them men of taste for the age in which they lived; they culti-

vated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which, of all others, are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of *fanaticism*. They had, indeed, their errors and prejudices; nor, perhaps, were they few in number; but who is free from the same charge? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology savoured somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools; —how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them, at least, a title to our candour and indulgence; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude, let us regret their infirmities; let us reject their errors; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence they may have been chargeable with; —but let us never forget, that through perils and obstacles almost unsurmountable, they open the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

SECTION II.

The General History of the Church.

The borders of the church enlarged.

I. THE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves, with the greatest vigour and success, in the propagation of the gospel among the darkened nations [*a*]. And it must, indeed, be confessed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of *America*, to those parts of *Africa* where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of *Asia*, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the Gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered, farther, that the denominations of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches as discovered a blind and

[*a*] See Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Histoire des decouvertes et Conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this elegant writer (who was afterwards created bishop of Sisteron) are taken from the Portuguese historians.—The other writers who have cast light upon this part of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Salutar. Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. 42, 43, 48, and 49.

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures, and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament, such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of *Rome* places in the list of *heretics*, but also by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors, in *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*.

The zeal of the Roman pontiffs in the propagation of Christianity.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the Reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in *Europe*, they turned their lordly views towards the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in *Europe*, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the titles of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *Jesuits*, or, *the company of Jesus*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of Rome in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix

fix for the exercise of their ministry [*b*]. The many histories and relations which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious multitude of Jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly shew, with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs [*c*]. And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned them with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident from the most authentic records, that the greatest part of these new apostles had more in view the promoting the ambitious views of *Rome*, and the advancing the interests of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine Author [*d*]. It may also be affirmed,

☞ [*b*] When the fanatic Ignatius first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontiff, Paul III. the learned and worthy Cardinal Guidiccioni opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of Ignatius, who, changing the articles of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the Jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which Rome has ever shewn for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in Portugal and in France, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable, that Ignatius and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of Rome, promise a like implicit and unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at Utrecht in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.

[*c*] See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, cap. xxxiii. p. 550.

[*d*] B. Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Oratio de virtutibus et vitiis Mission. Romanor. in Orat. ejus Academ.* p. 286.

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the *inquisition* erected by the Jesuits at *Goa*, and the penal laws, whose terrors they employed so freely in propagation of the gospel, contributed much more than their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity [*c*]. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated a new by the example of the Jesuits. And several other religious orders, that slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy, if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

The propagation of the gospel in India, Japan, and China.

III. Of all the Jesuits who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the *Apostle of the Indians* [*f*]. An undaunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the properest persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly in the year 1522, he set sail for the Portuguese settlements in *India*, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or, to speak more properly, of the popish religion,

[*e*] See the *Hist. de la Compagne de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171. 207.

[*f*] The late king of Portugal obtained for Xavier, or rather for his memory the title of Protector of the Indies, from Benedict XIV. in the year 1747. See the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. xliii. *Pref.* p. 36. The body of this sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest marks of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to Xavier, to whom the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of veneration and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. tom. iii. p. 83, 89, 203. tom. v. p. 88—48. tom. vi. p. 78.

religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of that remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he passed into *Japan*, and laid there, with amazing rapidity, the foundations of the famous church, which flourished, during so many years, in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1552 [*g*]. After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into *China*. The chief of these was Matthew Ricci, an Italian, who by his skill in the mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained both for himself and his associates, the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel [*h*]. This famous missionary may, therefore, be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed, and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist, nevertheless, still in *China* [*i*].

The attempts of the protestants towards the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

IV. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes, who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of *Europe*, the churches that were under their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those distant

[*g*] See the writers enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these, Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dan's le nouveau Mode*, tom. iii. p. 419, 424. tom. iv. p. 63, 102.—*Histoire de la Campagne de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92.

[*h*] B. Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine* tom. iii. p. 84. edit. Holland.

[*i*] It appears, however, that before the arrival of Ricci in China, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1354.

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is, however, recorded in history, that, in the year 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans [*k*], though it is not well known who was the promoter of this pious design, nor with what success it was carried into execution. The English also, who, towards the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of America, transplanted with them the reformed religion, which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilized people. We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of Finland and Lapland, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their Pagan ancestors.

The enemies of Christianity.

V. It does not appear, from authentic records of history, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the Gospel, or any public opposition made to the progress of Christianity, during this century. And it would betray a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks, to imagine, that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of Mahomet. On the other hand, it is certain, that there lay concealed, in different parts of Europe, several persons,

[*k*] Picteti *Oratio de Trophæis Christi* in *Orat ejus*, p. 570. There is no doubt but that the doctors here mentioned were those which the illustrious admiral Coligni invited into France, when, in the year 1555, he had formed the project of sending a colony of Protestants into Brazil and America. See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22.

persons, who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and in a more especial manner, against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed several of the Peripatetic philosophers, who adorned *Italy*, by their erudition, and particularly Pomponatius; several French wits and philosophers, such as John Bodin, Rabelais, Montagne, Bonaventure des Perieres, Dolet, Charron; several Italians, at whose head appears the Roman pontiff Leo X. followed by Peter Bembo, Politian, Jordano Bruno, Ochino; and some Germans, such as Theophrastus Paracelsus, Nicholas Taurellus, and others [*l*]. It is even reported, that, in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected, from whence whole swarms of these impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be rejected in the lump, by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said with truth, that all the persons charged with this heavy reproach were entirely guiltless. It is nevertheless certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, it will appear, that the accusation brought against many of them is entirely groundless; and that, with respect to several who may be worthy of censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly represented to be.

VI. It

[*l*] See Reimanna *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum. Hildes.* 1725, in 8vo.—Jo. Franc. Buddeus, *Thesibus de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i.—*Dictionnaire de Bayle*, passim.

CENT. XVI. SECT. I.

VI. It is, at the same time, evident, that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages; and from this happy renovation of learning, the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of *Europe*. Hence large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honours and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period, when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired at length, that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the Reformation, several well meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.

The public advantages that arose from the restoration of letters.

VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those, who consecrated their studious hours, and their critical sagacity to the publication,

The flourishing state of philosophy.

tion, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the culture of eloquence and poetry. We see by the productions of this age (that yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned), that in all the provinces of *Europe* these branches of literature were cultivated with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay, what is still more extraordinary, (and perhaps not a little extravagant), the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of the state, was supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the species of learning here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance, and the servitude of superstition [*m*]. And, therefore, we ought not to be

☞ [*m*] Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of Literature and Philosophy. But these debates are almost as absurd as a comparison that should be made between the means and the end, the instrument and its effect. Literature is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was designed to serve, so the pedantic philologist erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of "word-catchers that live on syllables" (as Pope, I think, happily expresses their tasteless

 pursuits),

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

be surprised, when we meet with persons who exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises of those who were our first guides from the regions of darkness and error, into the luminous paths of evidence and truth.

The state of philosophy.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and Belles Lettres were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy, yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The philosophers were divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly absorbed in contemplation, while the other was employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of Nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, of which the one followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own inventions. Those who submitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides, enlisted themselves under the standards of Aristotle, or those of Plato, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in *Italy*. Nor were the followers of Aristotle agreed among themselves; they all acknowledged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pursuits, which their doctors falsely called the Peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of Aristotle, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage as the

pursuits), who made the republic of letters groan under their commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of words and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind, and to the knowledge of things.

the source of wisdom, and as the system which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from these now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated Melancthon was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of Aristotle, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason, and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

Of those who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, Cardan [*n*], Telesius, [*o*], and Campa-

☞ [*n*] Cardan was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprizing, genius, who by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment, and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book *De genituris.* His knowledge of physic and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De subtilitate et veritate rerum,* in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer (whose voyage to England and Scotland is well known, by the learned Brucker, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ,* tom. iv. part II. lib. i. cap. iii.

☞ [*o*] This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at Cosensa, in the kingdom of Naples, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by Parmenides, upon whose principles he built a new system, or, at least, a system which appeared new, by the elegant connection

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

Campanella [*p*], hold, deservedly, the first rank, as they were undoubtedly men of superior genius,

which Telesius gave to its various parts, and the arguments used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of Aristotle. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged Telesius to compose his famous book *De principiis rerum naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even heat and cold, from which, like Parmenides, he deduces the nature, origin, qualities and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, viz. matter, and on these three builds with dexterity enough, his physical system; for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of Plutarch, *De primo frigido*. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader, to compare this work of Telesius, with Lord Bacon's physical account of the story of Cupid and Coelus, in his book *De principiis et originibus*, &c.

☞ [*p*] Campanella, a native of Calabria, made a great noise in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits towards something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of Spain, and partly against the kingdom of Naples, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of Pope Urban VIII. who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at Rome, had him conveyed to Paris, where he was honoured with the protection of Lewis XIII. and Cardinal Richlieu, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man they are tinged, indeed, with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see Brucker's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom.

genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added Peter Ramus, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute in the place of Aristotle's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by applying the penetrating force of fire [*q*] to discover the first principles of elements of bodies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was consequently followed by many; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists* [*r*], and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason,

tom. iv. part II. p. 127, &c. He was accused of atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the protestants, and not without reason.

☞ [*q*] The principal merit of Paracelsus consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness, the important science of chemistry, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of magic, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the Sagacious Philosophy, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reasoning than his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure, and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

[*r*] See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

The method of teaching theology improved,

IX. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It, in a more particular manner, brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology, that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately unfolded; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connection, and perspicuity; and that dry, barren, and unaffecting language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not however be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made in succeeding ages; this, indeed, was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things, which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would, nevertheless, be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterwards more happily finished, and of having laid the foundations of that striking superiority, which the divines

divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times. CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

X. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors at this day are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may further be observed, that the Reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unsociable aspect. It must indeed be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions, that discovered themselves gradually, and increased, from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that Luther rendered so famous. It is nevertheless evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes con-

and the genius and spirit of the Christian religion better explained.

CENT. XVI. SECT. II.

cerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity to which these disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate out of the minds of men that ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitudes of fanatics with which they were surrounded on all sides.

SECTION III.

The Particular History of the Church.

PART I.

The History of the Ancient Churches.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Roman or Latin Church.

I. THE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of *Rome* alone, who, by virtue of a sort of *hereditary succession*, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. Peter, the *supposed* prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the *supreme head* of the universal church, the *vicegerent* of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of *cardinals*. Of these, *six* are *bishops* within the precincts of *Rome*; *fifty* are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called *priests* or presbyters; and *fourteen* are inspectors of the hospitals and charity-houses, and are called *deacons*. These *cardinals*, while the papal chair is vacant, and

The Roman pontiff,—how elected.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff, are shut up and closely confined in a certain sort of prison, called the *Conclave*, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office [*a*]. Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature [*b*]. It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of *France* and *Spain* have acquired, whether expressly by stipulation,

[*a*] See Jo. Frid. Mayeri *Commentarius de Electione Pontif. Romani*, published in 4to at Hamburg, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the election and installation is amply described by Meuschenius, in a work published at Francfort in the year 1732, under the following title: *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani.*

☞ [*b*] The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring at the pontificate, is what they call at Rome, *il peccato originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of Italy, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of Rome. Those also who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of France or Spain, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of original sin, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or their family's being too numerous, or their morals being irregular. Even youth, and a good complexion and figure, are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by compromise, inspiration, scrutiny, or access (by which latter is meant a second election, employed when the other methods fail); see Aymon, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2do. p. 40, &c.

lation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office, such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that, in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy to aspire at the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and, by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

The power of the pope limited.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiff are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that, in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals, who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Besides this, all matters, that are not of the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *Congregations* [c], in

☞ [c] These congregations are as follow: I. *The congregation of the Pope*, instituted first by Sixtus V. to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the Consistory, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the Consistorial Congregation, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the election of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal fees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and annates that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal-dean presides in this assembly. II. *The congregation of the Inquisition*, or (as it is otherwise called) *of the Holy Office*, instituted by Paul III. which takes cognizance of heresies, apostacy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of Grand Inquisitor, which encroached upon the prerogatives

in every one of which, one or more cardinals preside. prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his Holiness. III. *The congregation for the propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith*, founded under the pontificate of Gregory XV. composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a prothonotary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is that the deliberations are carried on, which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished gratis, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs, to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. *The congregation designed to explain the decisions of the council of Trent.* V. *The congregation of the Index*, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal-president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman Catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical tables, or indexes of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. *The congregation for maintaining the rights and immunities of the clergy, and of the Knights of Malta.* This congregation was formed by Urban VIII. to decide the disputes, and remove the difficulties and inconveniences that arose from the trials of ecclesiastics before princes, or other lay-judges. VII. *The congregations relating to the Bishops and regular Clergy*, instituted by Sixtus V. to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocesans, and to compose the differences that happened so frequently

side [*d*]. The decisions of these societies are generally approved of by the Roman pontiff, who has not a right, without alleging the most weighty

frequently among the monastic orders. VIII. *The congregation,* appointed by Gregory XIV. for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops. IX. Another for enquiring into their lives and morals. X. A third for obliging them to reside in their dioceses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. *The congregation for suppressing monasteries,* i. e. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. *The congregation of the Apostolic Visitation,* which names the visitors, who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. *The congregation of Relics,* designed to examine the marks, and to augment the number of these instruments of superstition. XIV. *The congregations of Indulgences,* designed to examine the case of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. *The congregation of Rites,* which Sixtus V. appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint that is added to the Kalendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, the relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

[*d*] The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by Aymon (who had been, before his conversion to the protestant religion, domestic chaplain to Innocent XI.) in a book entitled, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome,* of which the first edition was published at the Hague, in 8vo, in the year 1707, and the second in 1726.—See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome, et des Ceremonies qui s'y observent,* which father Labat has translated into French, from the Italian of Jerome Limadoro, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie,* tom. viii. p. 105.—For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see Doroth. Ascian. *De Monlibus Pietatis Romanis.* p. 510. as also Hunold. Plettenberg, *Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curiæ Romanæ, Hildesiæ,* in 8vo, 1693.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government is, doubtless, a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at *Rome* in a manner that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to shew us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend, that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of *Rome*, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the Roman pontiff [*e*].

Debates arise concerning the power of the Roman pontiff.

III. The power of the Roman pontiff hath excited debates even among those that are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this pretended head of the church, are very far from being agreed with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If, indeed, we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, then we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives that can flatter ambition, which he does not claim for himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of

[*e*] Hence arises that important distinction, frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the Roman pontiff; I mean, the distinction between the Pope of Rome and the Court of Rome. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and congregations, whose rights and privileges are held sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge, and sometimes against the will and consent, of the Roman pontiff.

of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted into certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are, however, opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or, which is the same thing, in a general council, lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question; *viz. Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the* Lawgiver *of the church,* or *is he no more than the* Guardian *and* Depository *of the laws enacted by Christ and the church?* There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy [*f*]. Some great revolution can only effect the decision of this matter.

IV. The church of *Rome* lost much of its ancient splendor and majesty, as soon as Luther, and

The declension of the church of Rome.

[*f*] The arguments employed by the creatures of the Roman pontiff in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in Bellarmine and other writers, of which an enormous collection has been made by Roccaberti; and what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named Petitdidier, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at Luxemburg, in the year 1724. *Sur l'Authorité et l'Infallibilité des Papes.* The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of Rome, may be seen in the writings of Richer and Launoy.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

and the other luminaries of the Reformation, had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions under which it had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of *Europe*, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of *Rome;* in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny; and upon the whole, this defection produced a striking diminution both of the wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states, who adhered to the religion of *Rome*, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instructions from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came, at length, to perceive, that, if the jurisdiction and authority of *Rome* continued the same that it was before the rise of Luther, the rights of temporal princes, and the majesty of civil government would, sooner or later, be absorbed in the gulf of papal avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of *Europe*, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negociations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of *Rome*, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the Roman pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, *war* and *excommunication*, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms, who acknowledged the Roman pontiff

as

as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confine, nevertheless, his power of enacting laws within narrow limits.

The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses.

V. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and, for this purpose, they exerted much more zeal and industry than had been shewn by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond *Europe*, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the *Indies*, both among the pagan nations and the Christian sects. The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion to observe, were the first missionaries that were sent for this purpose into these distant parts of the world; but able men, selected out of the other monastic orders, were afterwards employed in this arduous undertaking, If, however, we except the exploits of Francis Xavier, and his companions in *India*, *China*, and *Japan*, of which notice has been taken above, there were no great matters effected in this century; as generally speaking, the persons who were set apart to execute this grand project, were not as yet endowed with that experience and dexterity that it necessarily required, and set about the work with more zeal than prudence and knowledge.

Missions.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine, and observed the religious rites of the *Monophysites;* and this offered a favourable occasion of reducing this people under the papal yoke. Accordingly John Bermudes was sent into *Ethiopia* for this purpose; and, that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was clothed with the title of *Patriarch of the Abyssinians.* The same important commission was afterwards given to Ignatius Loyola, and the companions of his la-

bours [*g*]; and, at their first setting out, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer this fond expectation; and, in some time, it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors, to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts [*h*].

The Egyptians and Armenians.

VI. The *Egyptians*, or *Copts*, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in their religious sentiments, and also in their external forms of worship, became next the objects of *Rome's* ambitious zeal; and, in the year 1562, Christopher Roderic, a Jesuit of note, was sent, by the express order of Pope Pius IV. to propagate the cause of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, notwithstanding the rich presents and subtle arguments by which he attempted to change the sentiments, and shake the constancy of Gabriel [*i*], who was at that time patriarch of *Alexandria*, returned to *Rome* with no other effect of his embassy, than fair words, and a few compli-

☞ [*g*] It is certainly by mistake that Dr. Mosheim mentions Loyola as having made a voyage into *Abyssinia*. Jesuits were sent at different periods to that country, and with little success; but their founder was never there in person.

[*h*] See Ludolfi *Histor. Æthiopica et Comm.*—Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120.—Le Grand, *Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins*, which is to be found in the second volume of the *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie du R. P. Jerome Lobo*, p. 13.—La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, livr. ii. p. 90.

[*i*] Franc. Sachini *Histoire Societat. Jesu*, part II. lib. v. Euseb. Renaud. *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 611.—*Hist. de la Campagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 314.

compliments [*k*]. It is, however true, that, towards the conclusion of this century, and during the pontificate of Clement VIII. an embassy from another patriarch of *Alexandria*, whose name was also Gabriel, appeared at *Rome*, and was considered as a subject of triumph and boasting by the creatures of the pope [*l*]. But the more candid and sensible, even among the Roman Catholics, looked upon this embassy, and not without reason, as a stratagem of the Jesuits to persuade the Abyssinians) who were so prone to follow the example of their brethren of *Alexandria)* to join themselves to the communion of *Rome*, and to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff [*m*]. It is at least certain, that after this solemn embassy, we do not find in the records of history the smallest token of a propensity in the *Copts* to embrace the doctrine or discipline of *Rome*.

Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the Roman pontiff with particular marks of

 veneration

☞ [*k*] This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of *Trent*, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he refused positively the sending any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly, that he owed no obedience nor submission to the bishop of *Rome*, who had no more dignity nor authority than any other bishop, except within the bounds of his own diocese. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagn. de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 322. 324.

[*l*] The transactions of this embassy, adorned with an ample and pompous preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the *Annal. Eccl.* of Baronius, p. 707, edit. *Antwerp.*

[*m*] Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611. 612. endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this embassy, of which Baronius has given such a pompous account. He is, however, much mistaken when he asserts, that father Simon, relying upon the fallacious testimony of George Douzas, was the only person that ever considered this embassy as a stratagem; since it is evident, that Thomas a Jesu, in the sixth book of his treatise *De conversione omnium gentium procuranda*, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

veneration and respect, without departing, however, from the religious doctrine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther account shall be given in the History of the Eastern Churches; it may, nevertheless, be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the Bishop of *Rome* was greatly increased, and the votaries of the pontiff considerably multiplied, by the zeal of *Z*erapion, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of *Rome*, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in the year 1593, the title and dignity of Patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not, however, enjoy this dignity long; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors; and thus the boasting and exultation of tbe Romans subsided all of a sudden, and their hopes vanished [*n*].

Nestorians and Indians.

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, felt early the effects of their imperious councils. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people about the creation of a new patriarch, Simeon Barmamas being proposed by one party, and Sulaka earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to *Rome*, and was consecrated patriarch, in the year 1553, by Pope Julius III. whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. Julius gave the name John to the

[*n*] See *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Campagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

the new Chaldean patriarch, and, upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs [*o*].

The Nestorians, or, as they are most commonly called, the *Christians of St.* Thomas, who inhabited the maritime coasts of *India*, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of *Rome*, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple, and infinitely less absurd [*p*]. The finishing stroke was put to the violence and brutality of these attempts by Don Alexis de Menezes, bishop of *Goa*, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent counsels and arrogant proceedings of Menezes, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman-catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom [*q*].

[*o*] Jos. Sim. Assemanni *Bibliotheca Oriental. Clementina-Vaticana*, tom. iii. part II. p. 164.—See the *History of the Eastern church*, in the following chapter of this history.

☞ [*p*] For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following chapter:—As also two learned books of Monsieur La Croze, the one entitled, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes;* and the other, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie.*

[*q*] See La Croze *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88. &c. in which there is an ample account of the *Christians of St. Thomas*, and of the rough methods employed by Menezes to gain them over to the church of *Rome*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they did not only require that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowledge the Roman pontiff as Christ's sole *vicegerent* upon earth: their demands were still farther; they opposed many of the opinions of this people, some of which are at least worthy of toleration, and others highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and scripture; they insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions, which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of this people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of *Rome*. The papal court, however, rendered wise by experience, perceived at length, that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and every way improper to extend the limits of the papal empire in the East. It was therefore determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were, consequently, ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points: to wit, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and their renouncing, or at least professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to use a perfect toleration, and to let these people remain unmolested in following the sentiments

sentiments, and observing the institutions, they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of *Rome*, when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtilties and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and it discovered less of an ingenious spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes by all sorts of means, and at all events. Be that as it may, the cause of *Rome* received much more advantage from this plan of moderation, than it had derived from the severity of its former councils; though much less than the authors of this reconciling plan fondly expected.

The internal constitution of the church of Rome strengthened in various ways.

IX. While the Roman pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the Reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the church of *Rome* against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of *crusades*, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of *Rome*, and in the state of *Europe*, rendered any such method of subduing heretics visionary and impracticable. Other methods were, therefore, to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and procedures of the *inquisition* were revised and corrected in those countries where that formidable court is permitted to exert its dreadful power.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

Colleges, and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up, by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield, with more dexterity and success, the srms of controversy against the enemies of *Rome*. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented, or at least much obstructed, by certain lists, or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth, in general, were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion, than they had formerly been. Thus it happens, that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of *Rome* would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury; and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendor.

Ignatius Loyola the founder of the order called Jesuits.

X. The monastic orders and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church,

church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And, indeed, various causes contribute to render the connection between the pontiff and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between him and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of Luther, and the progress of the Reformation, had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of *Rome*, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was so much the more necessary, as the two famous *Mendicant* societies [*r*], by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a considerable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought for, in this declining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, deriving its title from the name of Jesus, were commonly called *Jesuits*, while they were stiled by their enemies *Loyalites*, and sometimes *Inighists* [*s*], from the Spanish name of their founder [*t*]. This

☞ [*r*] These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

☞ [*s*] The Spanish name of the founder of the order of Jesuits was Don Inigo de Guipuscoa.

[*t*] The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits, are enumerated by Christoph. Aug. Salin. in his *Historia August. Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 73.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

This founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic, indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius [*u*], who, after having passed through various scenes of life, came to *Rome*, and, being there directed by the prudent councils of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required [*w*].

The nature of the order and institution of the Jesuits.

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the *monks* and the *secular clerks*, and with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the *regular canons* than to any other order. For

[*u*] Many Jesuits have written the life of this extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent upon advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events, and the most trivial actions that concern Ignatius, are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, though seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French writer, who calls himself Herculus Rasiel de Selve *. This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled, *Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et fondateur de la Monarchie de Inighistes*, and it has passed already through two editions at the *Hague*.

[*w*] Not only the Protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious *Roman Catholics*, have unanimously denied, that Ignatius Loyola had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons much more learned than he, were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429.——The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary John de Palanco;

☞ * This is a feigned name; the real author was Monsieur Le Vier, an ingenious bookseller, who lived formerly at the Hague.

For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burthensome services that lie heavy upon the Monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the *professed members*, who live in what are called the *professed houses;* the second contains the *scholars*, who instruct the youth in the *colleges;* and to the third belong the *novices*, who live in the *houses of probation* [*x*]. The *professed members*, besides the three ordinary vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*, that are common to all the Monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves *to go without deliberation or delay wherever the pope shall think fit to send them;* they are also a kind of *Mendicants*, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well disposed people. The other *Jesuits*, and more particularly

Palanco; see La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiope*, p. 55. 271. The Benedictines affirm, that his book of *Spiritual Exercises* is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk whose name was Cisneros (see *La Vie M. de la Croze par Jordan*) and the constitutions of the Society were probably the work of Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men who were among its first members. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Campagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115.

☞ [*x*] Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the Spiritual and temporal Co-adjutors, who assisted the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three *simple* vows; though, after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the Spiritual Co-adjutors are admitted to the *fourth* vow, and thus become *professed* members.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

larly the *scholars*, are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the *professed members*. These latter, who are few in number (considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes), are, generally speaking, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience, added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word, they are the *true* and *perfect* Jesuits. The rest have, indeed, the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the *Jesuits*, than real members of that mysterious order; and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits can be applied to them. But, what is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not revealed even to all the *professed members*. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and long trial declared worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order.

The zeal of the Jesuits for the interests of the Roman pontiff.

XII. The church and court of *Rome*, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, have derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence. It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity throughout the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of *Rome*, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of Pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution

resolution the whole burthen of this religious war, and surpassing, by far, the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings, and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them that ascendency they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to the propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity, that rendered it burthensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal grandeur, from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind [*y*]. An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of *Rome;* and this, indeed, was its great end, and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of; employing

[*y*] Before the order of Jesuits was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes. And it was by the Jesuits that the Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France,* livr. i. p. 322.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

ing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt, of which they must have been naturally apprehensive, in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon, and indeed an excessive degree of veneration and respect. But it is also true, that these signal honours, and advantages exposed them, at the same time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools, united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove, that nothing could be more detrimental to the interests of religion, and the well-being of society, than the institutions of the Jesuits. In *France*, *Poland*, and other countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy [z]. But the prudence, or rather the cunning and artifice, of the disciples of *Loyola*, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put

[z] See the *Histoire des Religieux de la Campagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. passim.—Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*, tom. vi. p. 559—648, et passim.—As well as almost all the writers who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of its adversaries [*a*].

XIII. The pontiffs of this century that ruled the church after the decease of Alexander VI. were Pius III. Julius II. [*b*], Leo X. Adrian

Roman pontiffs.

☞ [*a*] The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in *Christ Church, Dublin,* by Dr. George Brown, bishop of that see: a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany* (vol. v. p. 566.) The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits is as follows: "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, "who call themselves *Jesuits,* which will deceive many, who "are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst "the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall "come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves "into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the "Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Re-"formers a Reformade, purposely to know your intentions, "your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby "bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, "*There was no God.* These shall spread over the whole world, "shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never "the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes re-"veal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not "perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of "God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by wink-"ing at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, "shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those "who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so "that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. "They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon "earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit." —This singular passage, I had almost said prediction, seems to be accomplished in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in *France,* (I write this note in the year 1762); and by the universal indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all the orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.

☞ [*b*] It was from a foolish ambition of resembling Cæsar (a very singular model for a Christian pontiff,) that this pope, whose name was Rovere, assumed the denomination of Julius II. It may be indeed said, that Cæsar was sovereign pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), and that the pope of *Rome* enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.

Adrian VI. whose characters and transactions have been already taken notice of; Clement VII. of the house of Medicis,—Paul III. of the illustrious family of Farnese [*c*], Julius III. [*d*]; whose name was John Maria Giocci,—Marcellus II.—Paul IV. [*e*], whose name, before his

[*c*] The sentiments and character of Paul III. have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late Cardinal Quirini, and Keisling, Schelhorn, and some other writers. The Cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff; while the two learned men above-mentioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See Quirinus, *De gestis* Pauli III. *Farnesii Brixiæ*, 1745, in 4to. ☞Among the *res gestæ* of Paul III. were two bastards, whose offspring, Farnese and Sforza, were made cardinals in their infancy. See Keislingii *Epist. de gestis* Pauli III. Schelhorn. *Amœnitates Hist. Eccles. et Liter.* But the licentious exploits of this pope do not end here. He was reproached, in a book published before his death under the name of Ochino, with having poisoned his mother and his nephew, with having ravished a young virgin at *Ancona*, with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter Constantia, who died of poison administered by the pope, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is said, in the same book, that being caught in bed with his niece Laura Farnese, who was the wife of Nic. Quercei, he received from this incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death. See Skeidan, *Comment. de Statu Relig. et Republicæ. Carola Quinto Cæsare*, lib. xxi. p. 667. edit. *Argentor.*

☞ [*d*] This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See Thuan. lib. vi. & xv.—Hoffing, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. v. p. 572.—and more especially Sleidan, *Histor.* lib. xxi. *Folio.* m. 609.—When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, "What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him (Julius) in the papal chair?"

☞ [*e*] Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment

his elevation to the pontificate, was John Peter Caraffa,—Pius IV. who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of Medicis, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of John Angeli de Medicis,—Pius V. a Dominican, called Michael Ghisleri, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the kalendar,—Gregory XIII. who was known previously by the name of Hugo Buoncompagno [*f*], —Sixtus V. otherwise named Felix Peretti di Montalto, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, surpassed by far all his predecessors,—Urban VIII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or falling into reproach.

Among these pontiffs there were better and worse [*g*]; but they were all men of exemplary characters,

treatment of Queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's History of the Reformation.—It was he who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the Index of prohibited books, mentioned above, sect. IX.

[*f*] See Jo. Petr. Maffei Annales Gregorii XIII. Rom. 1742, in 4to.

[*g*] Pius V. and Sixtus V. made a much greater figure in the annals of fame, than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against heretics, and the famous bull *In Cœna Domini*, which is read publicly at Rome every year on the Festival of the Holy Sacrament; and the latter, in consequence of many services rendered to the church, and numberless attempts, carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory, and maintain its authority.—Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of Pius V. so soon as they saw him canonised, in the year 1712, by Clement XI. Of his bull, entitled, *In Cœna Domini*, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in Giannone's *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248. The life of Sixtus V. has been written by Gregory Leti, and translated

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

characters, when compared with the greatest part of those who governed the church before the Reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of *Rome*, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals, and the Roman nobility more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to entrust such an important dignity to an ecclesiastic, whose bare-faced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish thereby new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the Reformers, the Roman pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority, as they had formerly usurped; nor could they, indeed, make good such pretensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim, therefore, no longer a power of deciding by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations, which are entrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of *Rome*, have been prudently suspended since the gradual

into several languages; it is however a very indifferent work, and the relations it contains are, in many places, inaccurate and unfaithful.

gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition that prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne.

The state of the clergy.

XIV. That part of the body of the clergy, that is more peculiarly devoted to the Roman pontiffs, seemed to have undergone no visible change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of *Trent*, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges, of which they had been forcibly deprived by the popes. They were even persuaded that the pope might be lawfully obliged to acknowledge, that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from Christ himself [*h*]. But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the artifice and dexterity of the court of *Rome*, which never cease to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim: "That the bishops are no more than the legates "or ministers of Christ's vicar; and that the au- "thority they exercise is entirely derived from "the munificence and *favour of the apostolic see*," a maxim, however, that several bishops, and more especially those of *France*, treat with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the expence of the pontiffs; for those *reservations*, *provisions*, *exemptions*, and *expectatives* (as they are termed by the Roman lawyers), which before the Reformation had excited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout all *Europe*, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

 XV. Among

[*h*] See Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

The lives and morals of the clergy.

XV. Among the subjects of deliberation in the council of *Trent*, the reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgot; nay, several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a view to that important object. But those who had the cause of virtue at heart, complained (and the reason of these complaints still subsists) that these laws were no more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to maintain their authority; and that they were transgressed, with impunity, by the clergy of all ranks, and particularly by those who filled the highest stations and dignities of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints will appear as well founded now, as they were in the sixteenth century. In Germany, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing in their manner of living that is, in the least, adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances or reproofs of the Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes, than the servants of Him *whose kingdom is not of this world.* They court glory; they aspire after riches, while very few employ their time and labours in edifying their people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue. Nay, what is still more deplorable, those bishops, who, sensible of the sanctity of their character and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded

loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may, indeed, be partly owing to the examples they have received, and still too often receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them, perhaps, would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, had they not been corrupted by the models exhibited to them by the bishops of *Rome*, and had constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity.

That part of the clergy that go under the denomination of *canons*, continue almost every where, their ancient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal, and liberality of their ancestors, had consecrated to the uses of the church and the relief of the poor.

It must not, however, be imagined, that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or, indeed, that their inclinations and reigning habits tend towards such a loose and voluptuous manner of living. For it is certain, that the Reformation had a manifest influence even upon the Roman Catholic clergy, by rendering them, at least, more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses, than they had formerly done.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

Monks—The ancient orders reformed.

XVI. The same observation holds good with respect to the Monastic orders. There are, indeed, several things, worthy of the severest animadversion, chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; nor are these societies themselves entirely exempt from that laziness, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, that were formerly the common and reigning vices in the Monastic retreats. It would be nevertheless an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny, that in many countries the manner of living among these religious orders, has been considerably reformed, severe rules employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal, at least, any vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity that may yet remain. In some places, the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of Monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

Of this latter number was Matthew de Bassi, a native of *Italy*, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions, and who was a Franciscan of the more rigid class [*i*], who were zealous in *observing* rigorously the primitive rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he

☞ [*i*] The dispute that arose among the Franciscans by Innocent IV.'s relaxing so far their institute as to allow of property and possessions in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the most considerable who adopted the papal relaxation, were denominated Conventuals, and the other who rejected it, Brethren of the Observance. The latter professed to observe and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.

he was divinely inspired with the zeal that impelled him to restore the original and genuine rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and, looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission, attended with sufficient authority, he set himself to this work of Monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardour [*k*]. His enterprize was honoured in the year 1525, with the solemn approbation of Clement VII. and this was the origin of the order of *Capuchins*. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility, accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect [*l*]; and its reputation and success excited, in the other Franciscans, the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy [*m*]. The *Capuchins* were so called from the sharp-pointed *Capuche*, or Cowl [*n*], which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit, and

☞ [*k*] The Brethren of the Observance, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence the reforming spirit that animated Bassi.

[*l*] See Luc. Waddingi *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207. 257. edit. Roman.—Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii. ch. xxiv. p. 264.—And, above all, Zach. Boverii *Annales Capuchinorum*.

☞ [*m*] One of the circumstances that exasperated most the Franciscans, was the innovation made in their habit by the Capuchins. Whatever was the cause of their choler, true it is, that their provincial persecuted the new monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until they at last took refuge in the palace of the Duke of Camerino, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the Conventuals, in the quality of hermits minors, in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square capuche; and thus the order was established in 1528.

☞ [*n*] I know not on what authority the learned Michael Geddes attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one Francis Puchine.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

which is supposed to have been used by St. Francis himself, as a covering for his head [*o*].

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community, under the denomination of Recollects in France, Reformed Franciscans in *Italy*, and Barefooted Franciscans in *Spain*, and were erected into a separate order, with their respective laws and rules of discipline, in the year 1532, by the authority of Clement VII. They differ from the other Franciscans in this only, that they profess to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief; and hence also they were called Friars Minors of the strict observance [*p*].

St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order [*q*], which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was Johannes de Santa Crusa, and her enterprize was not wholly destitute of success, notwithstanding the opposition she met with from the greatest part of the Carmelites. Hence the order was, during the space of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind [*r*]. But, as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the

[*o*] See Du Fresne *Glossarium Latinitat. medii ævi,* tom. ii. p. 298. edit. Benedict.

[*p*] See Waddingi Annales, tom. xvi. p. 167.—Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tom. vii. ch. xviii. p. 129.

[*q*] Otherwise called the White Friars.

☞ [*r*] The former, who were the Carmelites of the ancient observance, were called the moderate or mitigated; while the latter, who were of the strict observance, were distinguished by the denomination of bare-footed Carmelites.

the more austere, or bare-footed Carmelites, were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in the year 1580, by Gregory XIII. at the particular desire of Philip II. king of Spain. This separation was confirmed, in the year 1587, by Sixtus V. and completed, in 1593, by Clement VIII. who allowed the bare-footed Carmelites to have their own chief, or general. But, after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height; hence they were divided anew, by the pontiff last mentioned, into two communities, each of which were governed by their respective *general* [*s*].

New monastic orders.

XVII. The most eminent of all the new orders that were instituted in this century, was, beyond all doubt, that of the Jesuits, which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of Rome, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The Reformation, among the other changes which it occasioned, even in the Roman church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were all comprehended under the general denomination of Regular Clerks. And as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue, that had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times; this was a plain, though tacit confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently

[*s*] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. ch. xlvii. p. 340.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

sequently of the indispensible necessity of the Reformation.

The first society of these regular clerks was formed in the year 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder John Peter Caraffa (then bishop of *Theate*, or *Chieti*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards pope, under the title of Paul IV.), who was assisted in this pious undertaking by Cajetan, or Gaetan, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even secluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual instructions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity [*t*]. There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

The establishment of the *Theatins* was followed by that of the *Regular Clerks of St. Paul*, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of *Barnabites*, from the church of St. *Barnabas*, at Milan, which was bestowed upon them in the year 1645. This order, which was approved by Clement VII. and confirmed about three years after by Paul III. was originally founded by Antonio Mavia Zacharias of *Cremona*, and Bartholomew Ferrari, and Jacob. Ant. Morigia, noblemen of *Milan*. Its members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the *Theatins*, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions, and depending upon the spontaneous

[*t*] Helyot, *ibid.* tom. iv. ch. xii. p. 71.

spontaneous donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they grew soon weary of this precarious method of living from hand to mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time, of securing to their community certain possessions and stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience [*u*].

The Regular Clerks of St. Maieul, who are also called the fathers of Somasquo, from the place where their community was first established, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by Jerome Æmiliani, a noble Venetian, and were afterwards successively confirmed, in the years 1540 and 1563, by the Roman pontiffs Paul III. and Pius IV. [*w*]. Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those that were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the Fathers of the Christian doctrine in *France* and *Italy*. The order that bore this title in *France* was instituted by Cæsar de Bus, and confirmed, in the year 1597, by Clement VIII. while that which is known in *Italy* under the same denomination, derives its origin from Mark Cusani, a Milanese knight, and was established by the approbation and authority of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

XVIII. It

[*u*] Helyot, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100.—In the same part of this incomparable work, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample, and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for brevity's sake, but barely mentioned.

[*w*] *Acta Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 217.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

Other new religious communities.

XVIII. It would be an endless, and, indeed, an unprofitable labour to enumerate particularly that prodigious multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations, that were instituted in *Germany* and other countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed by their innovations the peace, or rather the lethargy, of the church. For certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which Luther and the other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers have been suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who have considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the Ursulines shine forth with a superior lustre both in point of number and dignity. The *Priests of the Oratory*, founded in *Italy* by Philip Neri, a native of *Florence*, and, publicly honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII. in the year 1577, must, however, be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they have made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced Baronius, Raynaldus, and Laderchius, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an *Oratory*,

tory [*x*], or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built at *Florence* for himself, and in which, for many years, he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions [*y*].

The state of learning.

XIX. It is too evident to admit of the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of Luther, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the rest of the religious orders. It is certain that the schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, though that method was intricate and disagreeable in many respects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The monks were not more remarkable for their docility than the schools; nor did they seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters, a more solid and elegant method of instruction than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising variety that appears in the style and manner of the writers of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction of a great part of their contemporaries

[*x*] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, &c. tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.

☞ [*y*] He was peculiarly assisted in these conferences by Baronius, author of the Ecclesiastical Annals, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose annals, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, are so remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

poraries is barbarous, perplexed, obscure, and insipid.

Cæsar Baronius, already mentioned, undertook to throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the Christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely any thing better than perplexity and darkness [z]. His example, however, excited many to enterprizes of the same nature. The attempts of the persons they called heretics, rendered indeed such enterprizes necessary: for these heretics, with the learned Flackius and Chimnitz at their head [a], demonstrated with the utmost evidence, that not only the declarations of holy scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history and the records of the primitive church, were in direct opposition both to the doctrines and pretensions of the church of *Rome*. This was wounding popery with its own arms, and attacking it in its pretended strong holds. It was, therefore, incumbent upon the friends of *Rome* to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on which the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as its only foundation and support.

The state of philosophy.

XX. Several men of genius in *France* and *Italy*, who have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due to their valuable labours [b], used their

[z] The learned Isaac Casaubon undertook a refutation of the Annals of Baronius, in an excellent work, entitled, Exercitationes, &c. and though he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian æra, yet he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable, and (many of them) shameful errors, into which the Romish annalists has fallen during that short space. Even the Roman Catholic literati acknowledge the inaccuracies and faults of Baronius; hence many learned men, such as Pagi, Noris, and Tillemont, have been employed to correct them. And accordingly, a few years ago, a new edition of these Annals was published at Lucca, with the corrections of these reviewers at the foot of each page.

[a] The former in the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses;* the latter in his *Examen Concilii Tridentinii.*

[b] See above, Sect. II. VIII. and IX.

their most zealous endeavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times. But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand, and, on the other, the timorous prudence of many weak minds, who were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to the church, and open a new source of division and discord, crushed all these generous endeavours, and rendered them ineffectual. The throne of the subtile Stagirite remained therefore unshaken; and his philosophy, whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of pleasure, and flattered the pride of those who were implicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivalled in the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new credit and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their colleges, and made use of it in their writings and disputes. By this, however, these artful ecclesiastics shewed evidently, that the captious jargon and subtilties of that intricate philosophy were much more adapted to puzzle heretics, and to give the popish doctors at least the appearance of carrying on the controversy with success, than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is pointed out by the genuine and unbiassed dictates of right reason.

Theological writers of the Roman persuasion.

XXI. The church of *Rome* produced, in this century, a prodigious number of theological writers. The most eminent of these, both in point of reputation and merit, are as follow: Thomas de Vio, otherwise named Cardinal Cajetan,—Eckius,—Cochlæus,—Emser,—Surius,—Hosius,—Faber,—Sadolet,—Pighius,—Vatable,—Canus,—D'Espence,—Caranza,—Maldonat,—Turrianus,—Arias Montanus,—Catharinus,—Reginald Pole,—Sixtus Senensis,—Cassander,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

der,—Paya d'Andrada,—Baius,—Pamelius, and others [*c*].

The principles of the Roman Catholic faith.

XXII. The religion of Rome, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the written word of God, and the unwritten; or, in other words, from scripture and tradition. But as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the person or persons who are authorised to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted, with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty, what are the real doctrines of the church of Rome, nor where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversies is to be found. It is true, in the court of Rome, and all those who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain, that he alone, who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent, is entitled to explain and determine the sense of scripture and tradition in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, of consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. To give weight to this opinion, Pius IV. formed a plan of a council, which was afterwards instituted and confirmed by Sixtus V. and called the Congregation for interpreting the decrees of the council of *Trent*. This congregation was authorised to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of any consequence, and particularly all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone,

[*c*] For an ample account of the literary character, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see Louis Ell. Du Pin, *Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xiv. and xvi.

alone as the great oracle of the church [*d*]. But notwithstanding all this, it was impossible to persuade the wiser part of the Roman-catholic body to acknowledge this exclusive authority in their head. And accordingly, the greatest part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of *Rome* on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of *scripture* and *tradition*, and to draw from thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognizance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion (with respect to the determination of doctrine and controversies) that still divides the church of *Rome:* and as no judge has been, nor perhaps can be, found to compose it, we may therefore reasonably despair of seeing the religion of *Rome* acquire a permanent, stable, and determined form.

XXIII. The council of *Trent* was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaint sof the wisest men in both communions. The council of Trent.

[*d*] See Aymoe, *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part V. ch. iv. p. 282. ☞ Hence it was, that the approbation of Innocent XI. was refused to the artful and insidious work of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, entitled, 'An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church,' until the author had suppressed entirely the first edition of that work, and made corrections and alterations in the second.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points (that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate) were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed, with violence, upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit, that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was moreover a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form, or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference, and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of Trent as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than

than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprising, that there are certain doctors of the Romish church, who, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of Trent as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, on the contrary, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of scripture and the language of tradition. Nor, when all these things are duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder, that this council has not throughout the same degree of credit and authority, even in those countries that profess the Roman Catholic religion [*e*].

Some countries, indeed, such as *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy*, have adopted implicitly and absolutely the decrees of this council, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other places it has been received and acknowledged on certain conditions, which modify not a little its pretended authority. Among these latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of this council, and acknowledged it at length only so far as it could be adopted without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain [*f*]. In other countries, such as *France* [*g*] and *Hungary* [*h*], it never has been solemnly received, or

 publicly

☞ [*e*] The translator has here inserted in the text the note (*h*) of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.

[*f*] See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235.

[*g*] See Hect. Godofr. Masii *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii, Tridentini in Gallia*, which is published among his other dissertations, collected into one volume. See also the excellent discourse which Dr. Courreyer has subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, entitled, "Discours sur la Reception du "Concile de Trent, particulierement en France," p. 775, 789.

[*h*] See Lorandi Samuelof, *Vita Andr. Dudithii*, p. 56.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

publicly acknowledged. It is true, indeed, that, in the former of these kingdoms, those decrees of *Trent* that relate to points of religious doctrine, have, *tacitly* and *imperceptibly*, through the power of custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected, both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church [*i*].

The principal heads of the Roman Catholic religion.

XXIV. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of *Rome*, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of *Trent*, together with the compendious *confession of faith*, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those, however, who expect to derive, from these sources, a clear, complete and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion, it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that both in the decrees of *Trent* and in this papal confession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. This other singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman-catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But, waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these *decrees* and in this *confession* several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much

[*i*] See Lod. Ell. Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380.

☞ For what relates to the Literary History of the Council of Trent, the historians who have transmitted accounts of it, and other circumstances of that nature, see Jo. Chr. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 325, 377. as also Salig's *History of the Council of Trent* (in German), p. 190—320.

much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members [*k*]. Hence we may conclude, that the justest notion of the doctrine of *Rome* is not to be derived so much from the *terms* made use of in the decrees of the council of *Trent*, as from the *real signification* of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that are, every where, in use in the Romish church. Add to all this, another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines which were obscurely proposed in the council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notorious example, in the famous *bull* called Unigenius, which was an enterprize as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

The state of exegetic theology or scripture-knowledge.

XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the holy scriptures that had been given by the learned, and the perusal of these divine oracles, which was now grown more common among the people, they left no methods unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred erudition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions

☞ [*k*] This is true, in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent, relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word: for in the scripture sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman-catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

pions to indulge themselves openly in reflections injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and, by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible (if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities) to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs, and the records of oral tradition, were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the holy scriptures. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the Vulgate, though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and, in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared by a solemn decree of the council of Trent, an authentic, *i. e.* a faithful, accurate, and perfect [*l*] translation, and was consequently recommended as a production

☞ [*l*] If we consult the canons of the council of Trent, we shall find that the word *authentic* is there explained in terms less positive and offensive than those used by Dr. Mosheim. Nor is it strictly true, that the Vulgate was declared by this council as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure; since, as we learn from Fra. Paolo, it was determined that this Version should be corrected, and a new edition of it published by persons appointed for that purpose *. There was, indeed, something highly ridiculous in the proceedings of the council, in relation to this point; for, if the natural order of things had been observed, the revisal and correction of the Vulgate would have preceded the pompous approbation with which the council honoured, and, as it were, consecrated that ancient Version. For how, with any shadow of good sense, could the assembled fathers set the seal of their approbation to a work which they acknowledged to stand in need of correction, and that before they knew whether or not the correction would answer their views, and merit their approbation?

* See Fra. Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, book II. part LIII. and Dr. Courrayer's French translation of this History, vol. i. p. 284. note (29.)

production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was every way adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred writings. In the same council, farther steps were taken to execute, with success, the designs of *Rome*. A severe and intolerable law was enacted, with respect to all interpreters and expositors of the scriptures, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books, in matters relating to faith and practice, in such a manner as to make them speak a different language from that of the church and the ancient doctors [*m*]. The same law farther declared, that the church alone (*i. e.* its ruler, the Roman pontiff) had the right of determining the true meaning and signification of scripture. To fill up the measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings, the church of *Rome* persisted obstinately in affirming, though not always with the same imprudence and plainness of speech, that the holy scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude, but only for that of their spiritual teachers; and, of consequence, ordered these divine records to be taken from the people in all places where it was allowed to execute its imperious commands [*n*].

Commentators and expositors of the holy scriptures.

XXVI. These circumstances had a visible influence upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and expositors of scripture, which the example of Luther and his followers had

 rendered

☞ [*m*] It is remarkable, that this prohibition extends even to such interpretations as were not designed for public view. "Etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in "lucem edendæ forent." Sessio 4ta. tit. cap. ii.

[*n*] The pontiffs were not allowed to execute this despotic order in all countries that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. The French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother-tongue, in which they peruse it, though much against the will of the creatures of the Pope.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

rendered, through emulation, extremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were insipid, timorous, servilely attached to the glory and interests of the court of *Rome*, and discovered, in their explications, all the marks of slavish dependance and constraint. They seem to have been in constant terror lest any expression should escape from their pen that savoured of opinions different from what were commonly received; they appeal, every moment, to the declarations and authority of the holy *fathers*, as they usually stile them; nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of *Rome* has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of scripture the four kinds of significations, called *Literal*, *Allegorical*, *Tropological*, and *Anagogical*, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterwards held so sacred, in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation so ill-managed, since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favourable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they had a mind to impose upon the credulity of the multitude.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that, besides these miserable commentators that dishonour the church of *Rome*, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise these senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and literal sense of the expression used in the holy scriptures. In this class

class the most eminent were Erasmus of *Rotterdam*, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgment in a paraphrase, which is deservedly esteemed; Cardinal Cajetan, who disputed with Luther at *Augsburg*, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; Francis Titelman, Isiderus Clairus, John Maldonat, Benedict Justinian, who acquired no mean reputation by their commentaries on the Epistles of St. *Paul*. To these may be added Gaigny, De'Espence, and other Expositors [*o*]. But these eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had almost no followers; and, in a short space of time, their influence was gone, and their labours were forgot. For, towards the conclusion of this century, Edmund Richer, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of *Paris* who followed the literal sense and the plain and natural signification of the words of scripture; while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations, where none such were, nor could be, designed by the sacred writers [*p*].

The state of didactic theology.

XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled before the reformation, with that subtile kind of theological doctors, commonly known under the denomination of *schoolmen*; so that even at *Paris*, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the

[*o*] See Simon, *Hist. Critique du Vieux et de Nouv. Testament.*

[*p*] See Baillet, *Vie d' Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintain by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of *didactic* and *scriptural* divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of *Trent;* where the scholastic doctrines fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings, and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy [*q*]. It was, however,

[*q*] See Du Boulay's account of the Reformation of the Theological Faculty, or College at Paris, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. p. vi. 790. In this reform the Batchelors of Divinity, called *Sententiarii* and *Biblici,* are particularly distinguished; and (what is extremely remarkable) the Augustine monks, who were Luther's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a year with a scriptural Batchelor (*Baccalaureum Biblicum præsentare;*) from whence we may conclude, that the monks of the Augustine order, to which Luther belonged, were much more conversant in the study of the Holy Scriptures than the other Monastic societies. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, and that so much the more, as Du Boulay's History is in few hands. It is as follows: "Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum præsentabunt, secundum statuum fol. 21. quod sequitur: Quilibet ordo Mendicantium et Collegiam S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum qui legat ordinarie, alioqui priventur Baccalaureo sententiario." It appears by this law, that each of the Mendicant orders was, by a decree of the Theological Faculty, obliged to furnish, yearly, a scriptural Batchelor (such was Luther; and yet we see, that in the Reformation already mentioned, this obligation is imposed upon none but the Augustine monks; from which it is natural to conclude, that

however, impossible to deprive entirely the scholastic divines of the ascendant they had acquired in the seminaries of learning, and had so long maintained almost without opposition. Nay, after having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigour from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy, and made use of their subtile dialectic, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics, than either the language of scripture, or the authority of the fathers. And, indeed, this intricate jargon of the schools was every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multitude, with the appearance of victory [*r*].

The Mystics lost almost all their credit in the church of *Rome* after the Reformation; and that, partly on account of the favourable reception they found among the Protestants, and partly in consequence of their pacific system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries. These enthusiasts however were, in some measure, tolerated in the church of *Rome*, and allowed to indulge themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain conditions, which obliged them to abstain from censuring either the laws or the corruptions of the church, and from declaiming,

that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the other Mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and consequently had among them no spiritual Batchelors; and that the Augustine monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the Theological Faculty.

☞ [*r*] The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

declaiming, with their usual freedom and vehemence, against the vanity of external worship, and the dissensions of jarring and contentious doctors.

The state of morality and practical religion.

XXVIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of *Rome;* nor, indeed, could any make such an attempt without drawing upon him the displeasure, and perhaps the fury, of the papal hierarchy. For, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in no wise conducive to the *interests* of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers. And it is undoubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risk of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the gospel, had been exhibited in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of *Rome*, have grievously complained (with what justice shall be shewn in its proper place [*s*]), that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendant in the courts of princes and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alleged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of their subtile distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity, by the loose and dissolute rules of conduct they propagated as far as their influence extended.

☞ [*s*] See Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. XXXIV.

extended. This poisonous doctrine spread, indeed, its contagion, in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of *Europe*.

All the moral writers of the Romish church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the *Schoolmen*, the *Dogmatists* [*t*], and the *Mystics*. The first explained, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions, and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demonstrations. The second illustrated them from the declarations of scripture, and the opinions of the ancient doctors. While the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

The state of religious controversy.

XXIX. The number of combatants that the pontiffs brought into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said, with truth, of the most of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, which the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number against the adversaries of the church of *Rome*, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. But the chief leader and champion of the polemic tribe was Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit, and one of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted

☞ [*t*] The reader will easily perceive, by the short account of these three classes that is given by Dr. Mosheim, that the word *Dogmatist* must not be taken in that magisterial sense which it bears in modern language.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

sisted between the Protestants and the church of *Rome*, and whose merit as a writer consisted, principally, in clearness of style, and a certain copiousness of argument, which shewed a rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of *Rome* arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force, and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candour and plain-dealing exposed him, however, to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable on account of his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would have been much greater among the friends of *Rome* than it actually is [*u*].

The controversies that divide the church of Rome.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of *Rome*, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in this century, and is, at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and the Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pontiff (and the *congregations* that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions) concerning the

[*u*] See Jo. Frid. Mayeri *Ecloga de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis pontificiis dubia*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo, in 1698.

the origin and limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, together with other countries, openly oppose the Roman pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges, sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who, from their first rise, had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictines and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious communities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by a painful reflection on the possessions of which they had been deprived; while the Dominicans contend for the honour of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished. Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical and monastic orders; on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them beyond number, and conducted with little moderation. It is true, indeed, that all these contests are tempered and managed, by the prudence and authority of the Roman pontiffs, in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to

an

an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity that is the source of its consistence as an ecclesiastical body. I say *tempered* and *managed;* for to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one who calls himself the *Vicar of Christ*, is, nevertheless, a work beyond the power, and contrary to the intention, of the Roman pontiff.

The more momentous controversies that have divided the church of Rome.

XXXI. Besides these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the church of *Rome*, there arose, after the period in which the council of *Trent* was assembled, controversies of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have increased gradually, and gathered strength; so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues, at this very day, to divide the members of the Romish church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the Roman pontiffs foment, perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties (since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them), and to diminish the violence of commotion, which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. Their efforts however have hitherto been, and still continue to be, ineffectual. They have not been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, nor to inspire any sentiments of moderation and mutual forbearance into minds, which

which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

XXXII. Whoever looks with attention and impartiality into these controversies will easily perceive, that there are two parties in the Roman church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits, in general considered as a body [w], maintain, with the greatest zeal and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which was universally adopted in the church before the rise of Luther, and which, though absurd and ill-digested, has, nevertheless, been considered as highly favourable to the views of *Rome*, and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These sagacious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, as well as the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine; and that every project that tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be, in the highest degree, detrimental to what they call the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Roman church, especially since the dawn of the Reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a Reformation

Two general classes of doctors in the church of Rome.

☞ [w] The Jesuits are here taken in a general and collective sense of that denomination; because there are several individuals of that order, whose sentiments differ from those that generally prevail in their community.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

mation (though indeed a partial one, according to their particular fancies) that thus the church might be purified from those unhappy abuses that have given rise to such fatal divisions, and still drawn upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

The main controversies that divided the church of Rome, reduced to six heads.

From these opposite ways of thinking, arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates between the Jesuits and several doctors of the church of *Rome*. These debates may be reduced under the six following heads;

First subject of debate.

The first subject of debate concerns the *limits and extent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff*. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, all maintain, that the pope is *infallible*;—that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the church;—that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested;—that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it;—and that he alone is the supreme lawgiver of that sacred community, a lawgiver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the church of *Rome* hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error;—that his authority is inferior to that of a general council;—that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it;—that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted;—and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers

rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from Christ himself.

XXXIII. The *extent and prerogatives of the church* form the *second* subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They comprehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of *Rome* [*x*], but even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its divine Author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors which profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the kingdom of Christ, and not only exclude from all hope of salvation those who are not within the pale of the church of *Rome*, but also those who, though they live within its external communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to *matters of fact*, or *points of doctrine* [*y*]; while the adverse party

Second subject of debate.

 declare,

☞ [*x*] They were accused at Spoleto, in the year 1653, of having maintained in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See Le Clerc. *Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 320.

☞ [*y*] This distinction, with respect to the objects of infallibility, was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance: Pope Innocent X. condemned five propositions, drawn from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled, *Augustinus*. This condemnation occasioned the two following questions: 1st, Whether or no these propositions were erroneous? This was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question relating to doctrine. 2d, Whether or no these propositions were really taught by Jansenius? This was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact. The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

declare, that, in judging of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring.

The third subject of debate.

XXXIV. The *third* class of controversies that divided the church of *Rome*, comprehends the debates relating to the *nature*, *efficacy*, and *necessity of divine grace*, together with those that concern *original sin*, the *natural power* of man to obey the laws of God, and the *nature* and *foundation* of those *eternal decrees* that have for their object the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church, adopt the following propositions: That the *impulse* of divine grace cannot be *opposed* or *resisted*;—that there are no *remains* of *purity* or *goodness* in human nature since its fall;—that the *eternal decrees* of God, relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended with, any condition whatsoever;—that God wills the salvation of all mankind; and several other tenets that are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the *natural dominion* of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less *universal* and *dreadful* than they are represented by the doctors now mentioned;—that *human nature* is far from being deprived of *all power* of doing good;—that the *succours of grace* are administered to *all mankind* in a measure *sufficient* to lead them to eternal life and salvation;—that the *operations* of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be *resisted*;—and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an *absolute*, *arbitrary*, and *unconditional* decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited *prescience*, by which he foresaw the *actions*, *merits*, and *characters* of every individual.

XXXV. The

XXXV. The *fourth* head in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church of Rome, contains various subjects of debate, relative to *doctrines of morality and rules of practice,* which it would be both tedious and foreign from our purpose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner; though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy [z]. The fourth subject of debate.

The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed; and maintain, that the service of those who obey from the fear of punishment is as agreeable to the Deity, as those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no

[z] No author has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life; and none at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel (a famous member of their order), in a piece, entitled, *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe.* This dialogue is to be found in the first volume of his Opuscules, p. 351. and was designed as an answer to the celebrated Provincial letters of Pascal, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than can be well imagined, and exposed their loose and perfidious systems of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humour and irony. Father Daniel, in the piece above-mentioned, treats with great acuteness the famous doctrine of probability, p. 351; the method of directing our intentions, p. 556; equivocation and mental reservation, p. 562; sins of ignorance and oblivion, p. 719; and it must be acknowledged, that, if the cause of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, it has found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

acts of obedience, that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking, but when he transgresseth a divine law, which is *fully known* to him, which is *present to his mind*, while he acts, and of which he *understands the true meaning* and intent. And they conclude from hence, that, in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it, through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions they deduce the famous doctrines of *probability* and *philosophical sin*, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits [*a*]. Their adversaries behold these pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates

☞ [*a*] The doctrine of probability consists in this: 'That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, nay even by one doctor of any considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgment of him that follows it, and even of him that recommends it.' This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious. Philosophical sin (according to the Jesuits' doctrine) is an action, or course of actions, that is repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity. See a fuller account of these two odious doctrines in the following part of this work, Cent. XVII. Sect. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. XXXV. and in the author's and translator's notes.

debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves; and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the church of *Rome* in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

The fifth subject of debate.

XXXVI. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of *penance* and the *eucharist*, forms the *fifth* subject of controversy in the church of *Rome*. The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their *intrinsic virtue* and *immediate operation* [*b*] upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at

☞ [*b*] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the sacraments produce their effect *opera operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently on its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courrayer's Translation of Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 423, 424. edit. Amsterdam.

heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love *that casteth out fear*. Hence arose that famous dispute in the church of *Rome*, concerning a *frequent approach to the holy communion*, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld [*c*] at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops [*d*]. The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties, which the Jesuits recommended with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that *intrinsic virtue and efficient operation* that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

XXXVII. The

[*c*] Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the Practice of communicating frequently. The French title is, 'Traitê de la frequente Communion.'

[*d*] See *Journal Universal*, tom. xiii. p. 148. tom. xv. p. 363. tom. xvi. p. 124.

XXXVII. The *sixth* and last controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient, and even necessary, to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout ignorance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter excluded the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all, who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity in

The sixth subject of debate.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

in a rational and acceptable manner. All this, however, is highly displeasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged, and their knowledge increased [*e*].

The disputes carried on with Baius concerning grace, &c.

XXXVIII. All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have

[*e*] The account here given of the more momentous controversies that divide the church of Rome, may be confirmed, illustrated, and enlarged, by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in France and Flanders, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the Roman pontiff, are opposed and refuted, are enumerated by Dominick Colonia, a French Jesuit, in a work published, in 1735, under the following title: "Bibliotheque Janseniste, ou Catologue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes critiques." This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the Roman pontiff, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the church of Rome. It was condemned by the late Pope Benedict XIV. but was, nevertheless, republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and additions, that swelled it from one octavo volume to four of the same size. This new edition appeared at Antwerp in the year 1752, under the following title: "Dictionaire des livres Jansenistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvres ches J. B. Verdussen." And it must be acknowledged, that it is extremely useful, in shewing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to the six heads of controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of partiality and injustice*.

☞ * See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the first and second volumes of the "Bibliotheque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts," printed at the Hague.

have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secrecy and reserve, and did not come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprising to those who consider that the controversies concerning *grace* and *free-will*, which had been set in motion by Luther, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided in the church of *Rome*, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of Luther were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith, with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. Augustin were solemnly approved; but the difference between these decisions and the sentiments of Luther were never clearly explained. The first rise of this fatal controversy was owing to the zeal of Michael Baius, a doctor in the university of *Louvain*, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of his piety and the extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of Augustin, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtile, and intricate manner of teaching theology, that had long prevailed in the *schools;* and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his darling guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church of *Rome*, in relation to the *natural powers of man*, and the *merit of good works*. This bold step drew upon Baius the indignation of some of his academical colleagues, and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this opposition, and may be reckoned among the first accusers of Baius, is a matter unknown, or, at most, uncertain; but it is

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

is unquestionably evident and certain, that, even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred the principal tenets of Baius, which he had taken from Augustin, and adopted as his own. In the year 1567, this doctor was accused at the court of *Rome*, and *seventy-six propositions*, drawn from his writings, were condemned by Pope Pius V. in a circular letter expressly composed for that purpose. This condemnation, however, was issued out in an artful and insidious manner, without any mention being made of the name of the author; for the fatal consequences that had arisen from the rash and inconsiderate measures employed by the court of *Rome* against Luther, were too fresh in the remembrance of the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and the person and functions of Baius were spared, while his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this transaction, Gregory XIII. complied so far with the importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named Tolet, as to reinforce the sentence of Pius V. by a new condemnation of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. Baius submitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension that it would be followed by severer proceedings in case of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of the ambiguity that reigned in the papal edict, and the vague and confused manner in which the obnoxious propositions were therein expressed. But his example, in this respect, was not followed by the other doctors who had formed their theological system upon that of Augustin [*f*]; and, even

[*f*] See, for an account of the disputes relating to Baius, the works of that author, published in 4to, at Cologn, in 1696, particularly the second part, or appendix, entitled, "Baiana, seu,

even at this day, many divines of the Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists, declare openly that Baius was unjustly treated, and that the two edicts of Pius and Gregory, mentioned above, are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never been received as laws of the church [*g*].

Contests with the Jesuits, Lessius, and Amedius.

XXXIX. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of Augustin, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated, with the same zeal, as formerly, throughout all the Belgic provinces, and more especially in the two flourishing universities of *Louvain* and *Douay*. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named Lessius and Hamedius, ventured to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that in which it appears in the writings of Augustin; for the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of *Louvain* in the year 1587, and by those of *Douay* the year following. The bishops of the Low Countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpese, when the Roman pontiff Sixtus V. suspended the proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognizance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of Christ, residing at *Rome*. But this cunning vicar, whose

seu scripta, quæ controversias spectant occasione sententiarum Baii exortas." Bayle's Diction. at the article *Baius*, inwhich there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes. Du Pin, *Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvi. p. 144. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 161.

[*g*] This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer, in a piece entitled, "Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, ou l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas recues par l'Eglise," and published in two volumes 8vo, at Utrecht, in the year 1737.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

whose sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of men and things, never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities that were already subsisting. And, accordingly, in the year 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm laid in such a manner, as that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing, either in public or in private, upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of Sixtus V. and imposed silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterwards the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church of *Rome* would not have been interrupted by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom [*h*].

The controversies with the Molinists.

XL. The Roman church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of Sixtus had restored, by suppressing, instead of deciding the late controversies, when new commotions, of the same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by Lewis Molina [*i*], a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university

[*h*] See *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay, par* M. Grey, 1688, in 8vo. The famous Pasquer Quenel was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book entitled, "Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise," tom. i. p. 104. See an account of this controversy in a piece entitled, "Memoires pour servir á l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace." This curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Universelle Historique.*

[*i*] From this Spanish doctor's name proceeded the well-known denomination of Molinists, by which those Roman-catholics

sity of *Ebora* in *Portugal*, who, in the year 1588, published a book to shew that the *operations of divine grace* were entirely consistent with the *freedom of human will* [*k*], and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis, to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of *predestination* and *liberty*, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of *Augustinians*, *Thomists*, *Semi-Pelagians*, and other contentious divines [*l*]. This attempt of the subtile Spanish doctor was so offensive to the Dominicans, who followed St. Thomas as their theological guide, that they sounded, throughout the whole kingdom of *Spain*, the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of Pelagius. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when Clement VIII. in the

catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and free-will, that are maintained in opposition to those of Augustine. Many, however, who differ widely from the sentiments of Molina, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinists.

[*k*] The title of this famous book is as follows: "Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia donis, divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione, et reprobatione, auctore Lud. Molina." This book was first published at Lisbon, in folio, in the year 1588. Afterwards, with additions, and at 4to, at Antwerp, Lyons, Venice, and other places, in 1595. A third edition, still farther augmented, was published at Antwerp in 1609.

☞ [*l*] Molina, affirmed, that the decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowledge and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operation these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which the Deity, by that branch of his knowledge which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience denominated in the school *Scientia Media*, is that foreknowledge of future contingents, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, of the circumstances in which they shall be placed, of the objects that shall be presented to them, and of the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

the year 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner as might tend to promote the cause of truth, and the peace of the church.

The congregation of Aids.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Dominicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invisible hatred against the Jesuits, having now a favourable opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of Molina, notwithstanding the pacific orders of the papal edict. They fatigued incessantly the Spanish monarch, Philip II. and the Roman pontiff, Clement VIII. with their importunate clamours, until at length the latter found himself under a necessity of assembling at *Rome* a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which were held in what was called the congregation *de auxiliis*, or of aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace, and its consultations were directed by Lewis Madrusi, bishop of *Trent*, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president in this assembly, which was composed besides of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alleged in favour of their respective opinions,

opinions by the contending parties [*m*]. The Dominicans maintained with the greatest obstinacy, the doctrine of their patron St. Thomas, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of Molina, thought the honour of their order concerned in this controversy, on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted according to the true Monastic spirit, which

 leads

[*m*] The history and transactions of this Congregation are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. Hyacinth Serri, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of Augustin le Blanc, in the year 1700, at Louvain, a work entitled, "Historia Congregationum de auxiliis Gratiæ divinæ;" which was answered by another history of these debates, composed by Liv. de Meyer, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of Theod. Eleutherius, in order to lie concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled, "Historia Controversiarum de Gratiæ divinæ auxiliis." The Dominicans also published the *Acta congregationum et disputationum, quæ coram* Clement VIII. *et* Paulo V. *de auxiliis divine Gratiæ sunt celebratæ*, a work composed by Thomas de Lemos, a subtile monk of their order, who, in this very congregation, had defended with great applause the glory of St. Thomas against the Jesuits.—Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come at the truth. For acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is therefore as yet a matter of doubt, which the court of Rome favoured most on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the most dexterity and success. There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published, in 8vo, at Louvain, in the year 1702, under the following title: "Histoire de Congregations de Auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculte de Theologie de Paris." This historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favours the cause of the Dominicans.

leads each order to resent the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if they had been cast upon the whole community, and to maintain at all adventures, the cause of every individual monk, as if the interests of the society were involved in it.

Rites and ceremonies.

XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and shew, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Besides these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and, indeed, the council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, where the feeble glimmering of Christianity, that yet remain, are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that

that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition [*n*]. Nor, indeed, are even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of *Rome*, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather impious, frauds which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude, in many places; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman-catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find, that they have

 little

[*n*] It is well known that the French, who travel into Italy, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testimony of many writers, and particularly from that of Father Labat, in his *Voyages en Italie et en Espagne*. This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of these bigots.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend that, since the council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

CHAP. II.

The History of the Greek and Eastern Churches.

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

I. THE society of Christians, that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church, is dispersed throughout *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The first is, that of the Greek Christians, who agree, in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch residing at *Constantinople*, and reject the pretended supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The second comprehends those Christians who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch, in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The third is composed of those who are subject to the see of *Rome*.

The Greek church properly speaking.

II. That society of Christians, that lives in religious communion with the patriarch of *Constantinople*, is, properly speaking, the Greek, though it assumes likewise the title of the eastern church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one acknowledges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople;* while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent on all foreign authority.

III. That

III. That part of the Greek church which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Constantinople*, is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of Patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common Father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops, and abbots, and generally speaking, of the whole church, is the patriarch of *Constantinople*. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, though that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election that is made; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true indeed, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose revenues are so small, and whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of Patriarchs, without being in a condition to extend their fame, or promote their cause, by any undertaking of signal importance.

Is for the most part subject to the patriarch of Constantinople,

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the patriarch of *Constantinople* are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of *Greece*, the Grecian *Isles*, *Wallachia*, *Mouldavia*, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces that are subject to the *Turk*. The patriarch of *Alexandria* resides generally at *Cairo*, and exercises his spiritual authority in *Egypt*, *Nubia*, *Lybia*, and part of *Arabia* [o]. Damascus is the principal residence of

and is divided into four provinces or districts here described.

[o] For an account of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult Sollerii *Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, which is prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*,

of the patriarch of *Antioch*, whose jurisdiction extends to *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and other provinces [*p*], while the patriarch of *Jerusalem* comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, *Palestine*, *Syria*, [*q*], *Arabia*, the country beyond *Jordan*, *Cana* in *Galilee*, and mount *Sion* [*r*]. The

Mensis Junii; as also the *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, are accurately described by Eus. Renaudot, in his *Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, which is published in the first volume of his *Liturgia Orientales*, p. 365. The Grecian patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the *charepiscopi* or *rural* bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowledge as their chief the patriarch of the Monophysites, who is, in effect, the patriarch of Alexandria.

[*p*] The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account of the patriarchs of Antioch to the fifth volume of the *Acta SS. Mensis Julii*, in which, however, there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of Antioch, by Milch. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670, and by Blasius Tertius, in his "Siria Sacra, ò Descrittione, Historico. Geographica delle due Chiese Patriarchali, Antiochia, et Gierusalemme," published in folio at Rome, in the year 1695. There are three bishops in Syria, which claim the title and dignity of patriarch of Antioch. The first is the bishop of the Melchites, a name given to the Christians in Syria, who follow the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian Monophysites; and the third is the chief of the Maronites, who hold communion with the church of Rome. This last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of Antioch, and is acknowledged as such, or at least receives this denomination from the Roman pontiff. And yet it is certain, that the pope creates at Rome a patriarch of Antioch of his own choice. So that the see of Antioch has, at this day, four patriarchs, one from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at Rome, who is patriarch *in partibus*, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the signification of that usual phrase.

☞ [*q*] Syria is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, as it evidently belongs to that of Antioch, in which also Dr. Mosheim places it in the preceding sentence.

[*r*] Blas. Tertii *Siria, Sacra.* lib. ii. p. 165. D. Papeprochii *Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym*, tom. iii. *Actor. Sanct. Mens. Maii.*—Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 102.

The episcopal dominion of these three patriarchs are indeed extremely poor and inconsiderable; for the Monophysites have long since assumed the patriarchal seats of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and have deprived the Greek churches of the greatest part of their members in all those places where they gained an ascendant. And as *Jerusalem* is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have their respective bishops and rulers, that jurisdiction of the Grecian patriarchs is consequently confined there within narrow limits.

The patriarch of Constantinople.

V. The right of electing the patriarch of *Constantinople* is, at this day, vested in the twelve bishops who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming this election, and of enabling the new chosen patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, belong only to the Turkish emperor. This institution, however, if it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless, on many occasions, prostituted in a shameful manner by the corruption and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambitious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money what they cannot obtain by merit; and seeing themselves excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the mercenary services of men in power. Nay, what is yet more deplorable has frequently happened; even that prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have been deposed, in order to make way for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish vizirs as the most qualified for the office of patriarch, who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true, some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the

Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect; and it is reported, that, as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their dominion with more security and repose than they did some ages ago [*s*].

The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, into the greatest superstition, must undoubtedly be very considerable and extensive; and such, indeed, it is. Its extent, however, is not entirely owing to the causes now mentioned, but to others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate does not only call councils by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and to make use of their prudent advice and wise deliberations in directing the affairs of the church; his prerogatives go yet farther, and, by the special permission of the emperor, he administers justice and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his communion. His influence is maintained, on the one hand, by the authority of the Turkish monarch, and, on the other, by his right of excommunicating the disobedient members of the Greek church. This right gives the patriarchs a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils. The revenue of this prelate is drawn particularly from the churches that are subject to his jurisdiction; and its produce varies according to the state and circumstances of the Greek

[*s*] Le Quien, ibid. tom. i. p. 145.—Elsner, *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turckey*, p. 54.

Greek Christians, whose condition is exposed to many vicissitudes [*t*].

VI. The holy scriptures and the decrees of the first seven *general* councils are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received, however, as a maxim established by long custom, that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of scripture, or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorised to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. And, accordingly, the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise entitled, *The orthodox confession of the catholic and apostolic eastern church*, which was drawn up by Peter Mogislaus, bishop of Kiow, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This confession was translated into Greek [*u*], and publicly approved and adopted, in the year 1643, by Parthenius of *Constantinople*, and all the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin, at the expence of Panagiota, the Turkish emperor's interpreter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed *gratis* among the Greek Christians; The doctrine of the Greek church.

[*t*] Ceper, a Jesuit, has given a History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, in the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Augusti*, tom. i. p. 1—257. There is also a very ample account both of the see of Constantinople and its patriarchs, in the first volume of the *Oriens Christianus* of Mich. Le Quien, who treats moreover of the Latin patriarchs of that city, in the third volume of the same work, p. 786. See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *De Eccles. Græciæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 48—59.

[*u*] It was originally composed in the Russian language.

tians; and it was also enriched with a recommendatory letter composed by Nectarius, patriarch of *Jerusalem* [*w*]. It appears evidently from this confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject and treat with indignation in several places, but it appears, at the same time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from those of other Christian societies. So that whoever peruses this treatise with attention, will be fully convinced, how much certain writers are mistaken, who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian Community, are but small and inconsiderable [*x*].

VII.

[*w*] This Confession was published in 8vo, at Leipsic, with a Latin translation, by Laur. Normannus, in the year 1695. In the preface we are informed, that it had been composed by Nectarius: but this assertion is refuted by Nectarius himself, in a letter which follows immediately the preface. It is also affirmed, both in the Preface and Title-page, that this is the first public edition that has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false; since it is well known that it was published in Holland in the year 1662, at the expence of Panagiota. The German translation of this confession was published at Franckfort and Leipsic, in 4to, in 1727. The learned Jo. Christ. Kocherius has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbol.* p. 45. and 53. and the laborious Dr. Hoffman, principal Professor of Divinity at Wittemberg, published at Breslaw, in 1751, a new edition of the Orthodox Confession, with an historical account of it. Those who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous Panagiota, to whom this confession is indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who has rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in Cantemir's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. iii. p. 149.

[*x*] The learned Fabricius has given, in the tenth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 441. an exact and ample list of the writers, whom it is proper to consult, in order to the forming a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

The design of uniting the Greeks with the Protestants miscarries.

VII. The votaries of *Rome* have found this to be true on many occasions. And the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by Melancthon, who sent to the patriarch of *Constantinople* a copy of the confession of *Augsburg*, translated into Greek by Paul Dolscius. This present was accompanied with a letter, in which the learned and humane professor of *Wittemberg* represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed; for the patriarch did not even deign to send him an answer [*y*]. After this, the divines of *Tubingen* renewed, with his successor Jeremiah [*z*], the correspondence which had been begun by Melancthon. They wrote frequently, during the course of several years [*a*], to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the *confession of Augsburg*, together with a *Compend of Theology*, composed by Heerbrand, and translated into Greek by Martin Crusius; nor did they leave unemployed any means, which a pious and well-conducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate to their communion. The fruits, however, of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written, indeed, with an amiable spirit

[*y*] Leo Allatius, *De perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. cap. viii. sect. ii. p. 1005.

☞ [*z*] The name of the former patriarch was Joseph. In the year 1559, he had sent his deacon Demetrius to Wittemberg, to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.

[*a*] This correspondence commenced in the year 1576, and ended in 1581.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

spirit of benevolence and cordiality; but at the same time in terms which shewed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters discovered in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and was sufficient to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people [*b*].

The miserable state of the Greeks.

VIII. Nothing, indeed, more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks, since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, had been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that ennoble human nature, by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowledge and virtue. Those few that surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in *Sicily* or *Italy*, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of knowledge, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. Thomas, which they have translated into their native language [*c*].

Such, at least, is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the European

[*b*] All the acts and papers relating to this correspondence were published in one volume at Wittemberg, in the year 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Liber de Actis et Scriptis publicis Ecclesiæ Wittembergicæ*, p. 50.—See also J. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Græcæ*, vol. x. p. 517.—Emman. a Schelstrate, *Acta Ecclesiæ Orientalis contra Lutheri hæresin*, published at Rome in the year 1739.—Lami *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176.

☞ [*c*] The translator has inserted the note [*k*] of the original into the following paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: *Such, at least,* &c.

European Christians, as well Roman Catholics as protestants, and it is built upon the clearest evidence, and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their countrymen against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain, that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern *Greece*, as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian [*d*], who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men that adorned that country in the last century, but also makes mention of an academy founded at *Constantinople* by a certain Greek, whose name was Manolax, in which all the branches of philosophy, as well as the liberal arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of *Greece*. But all this, though matter of fact, does by no means amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves, what was never doubted by any thinking person, that the populous nation of the Greeks, in which there is such a considerable number of ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate, that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance,

[*d*] See Dam. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 38.

rance, some men of genius and learning may arise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at *Constantinople*, it may be observed, that a literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgment that has been almost universally formed concerning the erudition of the Greeks.

This ignorance, that reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonour their leaders; and the calamities that arise from this corruption of manners, are deplorably augmented by their endless contentions and divisions. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine, or obeying the precepts, of the religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme, were it not for the support they derive from the Greeks, who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences, or to ward off the dangers, that so often portend the destruction of their church.

The Greek church independent on foreign jurisdiction.

IX. The *Russians*, *Georgians*, and *Mingrelians*, adopt the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church; though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarch of *Constantinople*. It is true, indeed, that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the privilege of a spiritual supremacy over the Russians, to whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened. But, towards the conclusion of this century, this privilege ceased by the following incident. Jeremiah, patriarch

of *Constantinople*, undertook a journey into *Moscovy*, to levy pecuniary succours, against his rival Metrophanes, and to drive him, by the force of money, from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the Moscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the secret orders of the Grand Duke Theodore, the son of John Basilides, employed all the influence both of threatenings and supplications to engage Jeremiah to place at the head of the Moscovite nation an independent patriarch. The patriarch of *Constantinople*, unable to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield; and accordingly, in a council assembled at *Moscow* in the year 1589, nominated and proclaimed Job, archbishop of *Rostow*, the first patriarch of the Moscovites. This extraordinary step was, however, taken on condition that every new patriarch of the Russians should demand the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and pay, at certain periods fixed for that purpose, five hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Moscovite council were afterwards ratified in one assembled by Jeremiah at *Constantinople* in the year 1593, to which ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent [*e*]. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of *Moscow* were still farther extended about the middle of the following age, when the four eastern patriarchs, under the pontificate of Dionysius II. patriarch of *Constantinople*, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the Grand Duke of *Moscovy*, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation

[*e*] See Anton. Possevini Moscovia.—Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292.—See also a relation of this transaction, which is published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Tauriens.* p. 433—469.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction [*f*].

The Georgians and Mingrelians.

X. The *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, or, as they were anciently called, the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, have declined so remarkably since the Mahometan dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about in the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life; for among the *Georgians*, or *Iberians*, there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head, whom they call *The Catholic*; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonour to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy: they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and, grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If therefore it be affirmed, that the *Georgians* and *Mingrelians*, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the *Monophysites*, nor to those of the *Nestorians*, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church, this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowledge; since it is impossible almost to know, with any degree of precision, what are the sentiments of a people who seem to lie in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion that are observable among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance

[*f*] Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. i. p. 155.—Nic. Bergius, *De Ecclesia Muscovitica*, Par. I. Sect. I. c. xviii. p. 164.

pearance of decency; so that the priests administer the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast [*g*].

Of the eastern churches that separate from the communion of the Greeks and Latins.

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the *Monophysites*, or *Jacobites*, so called from Jacob Albardi [*h*], who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only *one nature*; while the latter comprehends the followers of Nestorius, frequently called *Chaldæans*, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that there are two distinct *persons* or *natures* in the Son of God. The *Monophysites* are subdivided into two sects or

[*g*] Clement. Gallanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenic. cum. Romana*, tom. i. p. 156.—Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, &c. tom. i. p. 67. where the reader will find Jos. Mar. Zampi's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie*.—Lamberti *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie*, in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333, 1339.—See also Rich. Simon, *Histoire Critique des dogmes et ceremonies des Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. v. and vi. p. 71. in which the learned author endeavours to remove, at least, a part of the reproach under which the Georgians and Mingrelians labour on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The catholics or pontiffs of Georgia and Mingrelia are, at this day, independent on any foreign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople.

[*h*] This Jacob Albardai, or Baradæus, as he is called by others, restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the Monophysites, which was almost expiring, to its former vigour, and modelled it anew; hence they were called Jacobites. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the Monophysites, excepting those of Armenia; it however more strictly and properly belongs only to those Asiatic Monophysites, of which Jacob Albardai was the restorer and the chief. See Simon, *Histoire de Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. ix. p. 118. a work, nevertheless, that often wants correction.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

parties, the one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the Asiatics is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. Ananias, which is situated near the city of Merdin, and sometimes at Merdin, his episcopal seat; as also at Amida, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities [*i*]. The government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches over which he presides too numerous, to admit of his performing, himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called the *maphrian*, or *primate* of the East, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the eastern churches beyond the Tigris. This primate used formerly to reside at Tauris, a city on the frontiers of Armenia; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. Matthew, which is in the neighbourhood of Mousul, a city of Mesopotamia. It is farther observable, that all the patriarchs of the Jacobites assume the denomination of Ignatius [*k*].

The Copts and Abyssinians.

XII. The African Monophysites are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, who generally resides at Grand Cairo, and they are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians. The denomination of Copts comprehends all those Christians who dwell in Egypt, Nubia, and the other countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not, however, left entirely destitute; since they are, in

[*i*] Assemanni *Dissert. de Monophys.* tom. ii.—*Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatican.* sect. viii. Faust. Nairon, *Euoplia fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum Monument.* part I. p. 40.—Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* tom. ii. p. 1343.

[*k*] Assemanni *Dissertat. de Monophysitis.* sect. viii.

in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those Copts, who, on account of their capacity in household affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, though entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Mahometan families [*l*]. As to the Abyssinians, they surpass considerably the Copts, both in their numbers, their power, and their opulence; nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they live under the dominion of a Christian emperor; they, nevertheless, consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their spiritual parent and chief; and consequently, instead of choosing their own bishop, receive from that prelate a *primate*, whom they call *abunna*, and whom they acknowledge as their ghostly ruler [*m*].

The religious doctrines and rites of the Monophysites.

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in several points, both of doctrine and worship; though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the *nature* and *person* of Jesus Christ.

[*l*] Renaudot published at Paris, in 4to, in the year 1713, a very learned work, relative to the History of the Eastern Patriarchs, under the title of "Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum," &c. He also published the Office used in the ordination of the Jacobite Patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orient.* p. 467.—The internal state of the Alexandrian or Coptic church, both with respect to doctrine and worship is described by Wansleb, in his "Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle de Jacobites Coptes," published at Paris in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled, "Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte," p. 293. in which there is a particular account of the Coptic monasteries and religious orders. See also "Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant," tom. ii. p. 9.—Mallet, *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 64.

[*m*] Job Ludolf, *Comment. in Histor. Æthiop.* p. 451, 461, 466.—Lobo, *Voyage d'Abissinia*, tom. ii. p. 36.—*Nouveaux Memoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277.—Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. ii. p. 641.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

Following the doctrine of Dioscorus, Barsuma, Xenaias, Fullo, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in Christ the *divine* and *human nature* were reduced into *one*, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*, and the famous letter of Leo the Great. That, however, they may not seem to have the least inclination towards the doctrine of Eutyches, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles: That the *two natures* are *united* in Christ without either *confusion* or *mixture;* so that though the nature of our Saviour be really *one*, yet it is at the same time *twofold* and *compound* [*n*]. By this declaration it appears, that those learned men, who look upon the difference between the *Monophysites*, and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about *words* than *things*, are not so far mistaken as some have imagined [*o*]. Be that as it may, both the Asiatic

[*n*] Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.—See, in the same work, Abulpharage's *Subtile Vindication of the Doctrine of his Sect*, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the *Theologia Æthiopica* of Gregory the Abyssinian, published by Fabricius, in his *Lux evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 716. where there is also a list of all the writers who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

[*o*] See La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23. Assemanni *loc. citat.* tom. ii. p. 291, 297.—Rich. Simon, *Histoire des Chretiens Orientaux*, p. 119.—Jo. Joach. Schroderi *Thesaurus Linguæ Armenicæ*, p. 276. ☞ The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the Monophysites are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches, were greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt the other.

Asiatic and African Monophysites of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy, and on the authority of their ancestors, than on any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument [*p*].

XIV. The Armenians [*q*], though they agree with the other *Monophysites* in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the *unity* of the divine and human nature in Christ, differ from them, nevertheless, in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites who are *Jacobites* in the more limited sense of that term. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs [*r*]. The chief of these,

The Armenians.

[*p*] The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgiæ Orientales.*

[*q*] The first writer, who gave a circumstantial account of the religion and history of the Armenians, was Clement Galani, an Italian of the order of the Theatins, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesiæ Armenicæ cum Romana,* was published at Rome, in three volumes, in folio, in the year 1650. The other authors, who have treated of this branch of Ecclesiastical History, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens,* ch. xxxviii. p. 640.; to which must be added, Le Quien *Oriens Christianus,* tom. i. p. 1362.—The History of Christianity in Armenia, which the learned La Croze has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in Abyssinia, and which was published at the Hague in 1739, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see Gemelli Carreri *Voyage du tour du monde,* tom. ii. p. 146.

☞ [*r*] Sir Paul Ricaut mentions four; but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from whence Dr. Mosheim draws his materials.

these, whose diocese comprehends the *Greater Armenia*, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at a place called *Echmiazin*. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner [*s*]; but there is no mark of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, nor in his domestic œconomy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks, with whom he lives, by any other circumstance than his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at *Echmiazin*, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Armenians, who is called *The Catholic*, resides at *Cis*, a city of *Cilicia*, rules over the churches established in *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Syria*, and hath twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He also at present acknowledges his subordination to the patriarch of *Echmiazin*. The third, and last, in rank of the patriarchs above mentioned, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of *Aghtamar*, which is in the midst of the Great Lake of *Varaspuracan*, and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

Besides these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honoured with the

[*s*] R. Simon has subjoined to his *Histoire de Chretiens Orient.* p. 217. an account of all the Armenian churches that are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch. But this account, though taken from Uscanus, an Armenian bishop, is nevertheless defective in many respects. For an account of the residence and manner of life of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247, and Gemelii Carreri *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 4—10.

the title of Patriarchs; but this, indeed, is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at *Constantinople*, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces that form the connexion between *Europe* and *Asia*, enjoys the title of Patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at *Jerusalem;* and to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at *Caminec* in *Poland*, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in *Russia*, *Poland*, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of Patriarchs, on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the Great Patriarch of *Echmiazin*. For by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute, among their congregations, the holy *chrism*, or ointment; which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone [*t*].

The Nestorians, or Chaldeans.

XV. The *Nestorians*, who are also known by the denomination of *Chaldeans*, have fixed their habitations chiefly in Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions, that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points that distinguish them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that Nestorius

[*t*] See the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Campagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 1—218. where there is an ample and circumstantial account, both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. de la Croze, for the fidelity, accuracy, and industry, with which it is drawn up, and no man was more conversant in subjects of this nature than that learned author.—See la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiope*, p. 345.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

was unjustly condemned by the council of *Ephesus*, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two *natures*, but also two distinct *persons* in the Son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as of the most momentous and pernicious kind; but in our times it is esteemed of less consequence, by persons of the greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even among the Roman Catholic doctors. They consider this whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the opinion of Nestorius as a nominal, rather than a real heresy; that is, as an error arising rather from the words he employed, than from his intention in the use of them. It is true indeed, that the Chaldeans attribute to Christ two *natures*, and even two *persons;* but they correct what may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these natures and persons are so closely and intimately united, that they have only one *aspect.* Now the word *barsopa*, by which they express this aspect is precisely of the same signification with the Greek word προσωπον, which signifies a *person* [*u*]; and from hence it is evident, that they attached to the word *aspect* the same idea that we attach to the word *person*, and that they understood by the word *person*, precisely what we understand by the term *nature.* However that be, we must observe here, to the lasting honour of the Nestorians, that, of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have been the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude of superstitious opinions

[*u*] It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs in the city of Mousul.—See Assemanni *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. II. p. 210.—R. Simon, *Histoire de la Creance des Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. vii. p. 95. —Petrus Strozza, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum*, published in 8vo, at Rome, in the year 1617.

opinions and practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches [*x*].

Their patriarchs.

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism the various branches of that numerous and powerful sect were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or *catholic*, who resided first at *Bagdat*, and afterwards at *Mousul*. But in this century the Nestorians were divided into two sects. They had chosen, in the year 1552, as has been already observed, two bishops at the same time, Simeon Barmana and John Sulaka, otherwise named Siud. The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, went directly to *Rome*, and acknowledged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1555, Simeon Denha, archbishop of *Gelu*, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterwards chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of *Ormia*, in the mountainous parts of *Persia*, where his successors still continue, and are all distinguished by the name of Simeon, so far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of *Rome*, but seem at present to have withdrawn themselves from it [*y*]. The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with an hostile eye on this little patriarch, have since the year 1559, been distinguished by the general denomination of Elias, and reside constantly

[*x*] See the learned dissertation of Assemanni *de Syris Nestorianis*, which occupies entirely the fourth volume of his *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* and which seems to have been much consulted, and partly copied, by Mich. Le Quien, in the eleventh volume of his *Oriens Christianus*, p. 1078.

[*y*] See Jos. Sim. Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 538. and tom. ii. p. 456.

stantly in the city of *Mousul* [z]. Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of *Asia*, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the Christians *of St.* Thomas, who dwell along the coast of *Malabar* [a].

The remains of ancient sects.

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who still retained some faint shadow at least of that system of religion delivered by Christ and his apostles, there were other sects dispersed through a great part of *Asia*, whose principles and doctrines were highly pernicious. These sects derived their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who, in the early ages of Christianity, excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they declined from day to day, and fell at length into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name of Christians. The sect, who pass in the East under the denomination of *Sabians*, who call themselves *Mendai*, *Ijahi*, or the *disciples of* John, and whom the Europeans entitle the *Christians of St.* John, because they yet retain some knowledge of the gospel, is probably of Jewish origin, and seems to have been derived from the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, of whom the writers

[z] A list of the Nestorian pontiffs is given by Assemanni, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 711. which is corrected, however, in the same volume, par. II. p. CML.—See also Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1078.

[a] The reader will find an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas in La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes.* See also Assemanni *loc. citat.* tom. iii. par. II. cap. ix. p. ccccxiii.

writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention [*a*]. This at least is certain, that that John, whom they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to John *the Baptist*, but rather resembles the person of that name whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish *Hemerobaptists* [*b*]. These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin be, dwell in *Persia*, and *Arabia*, and principally at *Bassora;* and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently, and with great solemnity [*c*], and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service [*d*].

XVIII. The

☞ [*a*] The sect of Hemerobaptists among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite, necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by Ephiphanius, in the introduction to his book of heresies, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy, and want of veracity, under which that author too justly labours. Nay, the existence of the Hemerobaptists has been denied, but without reason, since they are mentioned by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and many other ancient writers, every way worthy of credit. That the Christians of St. John were descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of Dr. Mosheim, entitled, *Moshemii De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, p. 44.

☞ [*b*] See the preceding note.

☞ [*c*] The Mendæans at present perform these ablutions only once in a year. See Mosheim, *De Lebus Christian. ante Const. Mag. Comment.* p. 45.

[*d*] See the work of a learned Carmelite, named Ignatius, a Jesuit, published at Rome, in 8vo, in the year 1652, under the following title; "Narratio originis rituum et errorem Christianorum S. Johannis; cui adjungitur discursus, per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv errores ejusdem nationis." Engelb. Kaemferi *Amœnitates Exoticæ, Fascic,* II. *Rel.* XI. p. 95.—Sale's Preface to his English Translation of the Koran, p. 15.—Assemanni *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. par. II. p. 639.—Thevenot, *Voyages,* tom. iv. p. 584.—Herbelot. *Biblioth.*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

The Jasidians, or Jezdæans.

XVIII. The *Jasidians*, or *Jezdæans*, of whose religion and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are given by voyage-writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, who frequent the *Gordian* mountains, and the deserts of *Curdistan*, a province of *Persia*; the character of whose inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and intractable. The Jezdæans are divided into *black* and *white* members. The former are the priests and rulers of the sect, who go arrayed in sable garments; while the latter, who compose the multitude, are clothed in white. Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and is

blioth, Orient. p. 725.—The very learned Bayer had composed an historical account of these Mendæans, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he designed that I should be the editor, but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion (as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21.) that these Mendæans, or disciples of St. John, were a branch of the ancient Manicheans; which opinion La Croze himself seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iii. p. 31, 52. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manicheans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolators who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who payed religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called, by the Arabians, *Sabians*, or *Sabeans* (*Sabini*). This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous Fourmount, in a Dissertation inserted in the eighteenth volume of the "Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres," p. 23. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability, if we except the name which the Mahometans usually give to this sect. The Mendæans, themselves, acknowledge, that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were translated out of Palestine into the country they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to Adam, and another composed by John, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books have been some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

is not hitherto sufficiently known; though it be evidently composed of some Christian doctrines, and a motley mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They are distinguished from the other corrupt sects, that have dishonoured Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call *Karubin* or *Cherubim*, i. e. one of the great ministers of the Supreme Being. And if they do not directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain, themselves, from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but moreover will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. Nay, they are said to carry this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius; and that they will make no scruple to put to death such persons as express, in their presence, an aversion to him [*e*].

XIX. The

[*e*] See Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum in Append.* p. 549.—Otter, *Voyage en Turquit et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 121. tom. ii. p. 249. In the last century, Michael Nau, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them juster notions of religion (see D' Arvieux, *Memoires ou Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362, 377), and after him another Jesuit, whose name was Monier, embarked in the same dangerous enterprize (see *Memoires des Missions des Jesuites*, tom. iii. p. 291); but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. Rhenferdius, as appears from the letters of the learned Gisbert Cuper, published by Bayer (see p. 30.) consider the Jesdæans as the descendants of the ancient Sethians. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the Manicheans; which is sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the Evil Genius. Beausobre, in his *Histoire de Manicheisme*, tom. ii. p. 613. conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of Jesus; but it seems rather to be borrowed

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

Duruzians, or Dursians.

XIX. The Duruzians, or Dursians, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of mount Libanus, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who, from the eleventh century, carried on the Holy war with the Mahometans in Palestine; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find, however, both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and the Curdi of Persia had formerly embraced the sentiments of the Manicheans, and perhaps still persevere in their pernicious errors [*f*].

The Chamsi, or Solares, who reside in a certain district of Mesopotamia, are supposed, by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the Samsæans, mentioned by Epiphanius [*g*].

There are many other Semi-christian sects of these kinds in the east [*h*], whose principles, tenets,

borrowed from the word *Jazid*, or *Jezdan*, which, in the Persian language, signifies the *Good God*, and is opposed to *Ahrimne*, or *Arimanius*, the Evil Principle (see Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 484.—Charefeddin Aly, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. iii. p. 81.) so that the term *Juzidans* points out that sect as the worshippers of the good, or true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city *Jezd*, of which Otter speaks in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283, may have given rise to the title of *Jusidians*, or *Jezdæans*.

[*f*] See Lucas. *Voyages en Grece et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36.—Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 591, 554.—Sir Paul Ricaut's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. i. p. 313.

[*g*] Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 555.

[*h*] See the work of the Jesuit Diusse, entitled, "Lettres Edifiantes, et Curieuses des Missions Etrangeres," tom. i. p. 63.

tenets, and institutions, are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into *Europe*, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities; for the accounts which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

Of the Greeks who embraced the Roman communion.

XX. The missionaries of *Rome* have never ceased to display, in these parts of the world, their dexterity in making proselytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expence, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowledge the jurisdiction, of the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that among the Greeks, who live under the empire of the Turk, and also among those who are subject to the dominion of the Venetians, the emperor of the Romans, and other Christian princes, there are several who have adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin church, and are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive their confirmation and authority from *Rome*. In this latter city there is a college, expressly founded with a view to multiply these apostatizing societies, and to increase and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the deepest sentiments

63. This author tells us, that in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there lives a sect of Christians who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red hot iron.

sentiments of veneration and zeal for the authority of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with the efforts and labours of the missionaries, could not fail, one would think, to gain an immense number of proselytes to *Rome*, considering the unhappy state of the Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for the most respectable writers, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, acknowledge fairly, that the proselytes they have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched and despicable figure, in point of number, opulence, and dignity, when compared with those, to whom the religion, government, nay, the very name of *Rome*, are disgusting and odious. They observe farther, that the sincerity of a great part of these proselytes is of the Grecian stamp; so that, when a favourable occasion is offered them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the bosom of their own church, but even to recompense the good offices they received from the Romans with the most injurious treatment. The same writers mention another circumstance, much less surprising, indeed, than those now mentioned, but much more dishonourable to the church of *Rome;* and that circumstance is, that even those of the Greek students, who are educated at *Rome* with such care, as might naturally attach them to its religion and government, are, nevertheless, so disgusted and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy and bitterness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church [*i*].

XXI. In

[*i*] See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, Urb. Cerri, *Etat present de Eglise Romaine*, p. 82, in which,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches, the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of *Russia*, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were held at *Rome*, about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century John Basilides, Grand Duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity towards this union, by sending, in the year 1580, a solemn embassy to Gregory XIII. to exhort that pontiff to resume the negociations relative to this important matter, that so they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly the year following, Antony Possevin, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged with this commission by the Roman pontiff, aud sent into *Muscovy* to bring it into execution. But this dexterous missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at *Rome* soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff, but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependance could be made [*k*]. And, indeed, the event abundantly shewed,

A junction between the Russian and Roman churches attempted in vain.

which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner: "Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques lorsqu'ils ont apris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections:" i. e. in plain English, They, (the Greeks) become the bitterest enemies of us Roman Catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowledge of our imperfections. Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter.—Mich. Le Quien has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops that follow the rites of the Roman church, in his *Oriens. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 860.

[*k*] See the conferences between Possevin and the duke of Muscovy, together with the other writings of this Jesuit, rela-

shewed, that Basilides had no other view, in all these negociations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance, in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war, which he had carried on against Poland.

The ministry of Possevin and his associates was, however, attended with more fruit among that part of the Russians who reside in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church, in consequence of an association agreed on in the year 1596, in a meeting at Bresty, the capital of the Palatinate of Cujavia. Those that thus submitted to the communion of *Rome* were called the *United*, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of *Constantinople*, were distinguished by the title of the *Non-united* [*l*]. It is likewise farther worthy of observation here, that there has been established at *Kiovia*, since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own Metropolitans, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops that reside in that city [*m*].

The votaries of Rome still less numerous among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.

XII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African Monophysites. About the middle of the preceding century, a little insignificant church, that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs, successively named

tive to the negociation in question, that are subjoined to his work, called *Moscovia*.—See also *La Vie du P. Possevin, par* Jean Dorigny, livr. v. p. 351.

[*l*] Adr. Regenvolschii *Histor. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

[*m*] See Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274. and tom. iii. p. 1126.—*Acta Sanctorum.* tom. ii. *Februar.* p. 693.

named Joseph [*n*], reside in the city of *Diarbek*. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of *Rome* so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of John XXIII. who, in the year 1318, sent them a Dominican monk to govern their church, with the title and authority of an archbishop. The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at *Adorbigana*, in the district of *Soldania* [*o*]; but was aftewards transferred to *Naxivan*, where it still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to that ghostly dignity [*p*]. The Armenian churches in *Poland*, who have embraced the faith of *Rome*, have also their bishop, who resides at *Lemberg* [*q*]. The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted these missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labours were scarcely attended with any visible fruit [*r*].

The labours of the Roman missionaries among all these sects, produce little fruit.

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labours among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candour and truth. It is evident, from testimonies of the best and most respectable authority, that, in some of these countries, they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious

[*n*] See Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. par. I. p. 615.—Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1084.

[*o*] Odor. Raynald, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1318, sect. iv.

[*p*] Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 1362, and 1403. Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatione Ecclesiæ Armeniæ cum Romana.* tom. i. p. 527.

[*q*] *Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 54.

[*r*] Urb. Cerri. *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162.

tious character of physicians [*s*]; and that, in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the gathering together some wretched tribes of indigent converts, whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the church of *Rome*, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to *Rome*, and return to the religion of their ancestors [*t*]. It happens also, from time to time, that a person of distinction among the Greeks or Orientals embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, and promises obedience to its pontiff, nay, carries matters so far as to repair to *Rome* to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and accordingly, when the face of their affairs changes, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, than they, generally speaking, either suddenly abandon the church of *Rome*, or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous terms, as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of *Diarbek* [*u*], continue stedfast in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it with an appearance of zeal to their

[*s*] Urb. Cerri *Etat. present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164.—Gabr. de Chinon, *Relations nouvelles du Levant*, par. I. c. vi. p. 174. This Capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candour.

[*t*] See Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 186. tom. ii. p. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349, and principally tom. iii. p. 433, of the last edition published in Holland, in 4to; for, in the former editions, all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians, are entirely wanting.—See also Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, par. II. p. 308. which regards the Armenians; and Maillet, *Description d'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 65. which is relative to the Copts.

[*u*] Otherwise named Amidad and Caramit.

their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff.

On the other hand, the bishops of *Rome* are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the East. For this purpose, they treat, with the greatest lenity and indulgence, the proselytes they have made in these parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. Nay, they carry this indulgence so far, as to shew evidently that they are actuated more by a love of power, than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions. For they do not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining, in their public worship, the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors (though in direct opposition with the religious service of the church of *Rome*), and of living in a manner repugnant to the customs and practice of the Latin world; but, what is much more surprising, they suffer the peculiar doctrines, that distinguish the Greeks and Orientals from all other Christian societies, to remain in the public religious books of the proselytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at *Rome* in those that are sent abroad for their use [*w*]. The truth of the matter seems to

 be

[*w*] Assemanni complains in many passages of his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* that even the very books that were printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected nor purged from the errors peculiar to these sects; and he looks upon this negligence as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged.—See, on the other hand, the *Lettres Choisies du R. Simon*, tom. ii. let. xxiii. p. 156, in which this author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romans, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART I.

be briefly thus; That at *Rome*, a Greek, an Armenian, or a Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy member of the church, if he acknowledges the supreme and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the Christian world.

The Maronites.

XXIV. The *Maronites* who inhabit the mounts *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, date their subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into *Palestine*, with a view to make themselves masters of the Holy Land [*x*]. This subjection

[*x*] The Maronite doctors, and more especially those that reside at Rome, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of Rome has always been preserved among them in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labour and industry, by Faust. Nairon, in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione, Maronitarum*, published in 8vo at Rome, in the year 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers, that De la Roque drew the materials of his discourses concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgment of their history, which is inserted in the second volume of his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, p. 28, &c. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman church; who maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the Monophysites, and adhered to the doctrine of the Monothelites *, until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of Rome. See R. Simon, *Histoire Critique des Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. xiii. p. 146.—Euseb. Renaudot, *Histor. Patriarch. Alexand.* in *Præfat.* iii. 2. in *Histor.* p. 49. The very learned Assemanni, who was himself a Maronite, steers a middle way between these two opposite accounts, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496. while the matter in debate is left undecided by Mich. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1. where he gives an account of the Maronite church and its spiritual rulers.—For my own part, I am persuaded, that those who consider that all the Maronites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome, will be little disposed to receive with credulity

* Those who maintained, that, notwithstanding the two natures in Christ, viz. the human and the divine, there was, nevertheless, but one will, which was the divine.

jection however was agreed to, with this express condition, that neither the popes nor their emissaries should pretend to charge or abolish any thing that related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions, of this people. So that, in reality, there is nothing to be found among the Maronites that savours of popery, if we except their attachment to the Roman pontiff [*y*], who is obliged to pay very dear for their friendship. For, as the Maronites live in the utmost distress of poverty, under the tyrannical yoke of the Mahometans, the bishop of *Rome* is under a necessity of furnishing them with such

 subsidies

the assertions of certain Maronite priests, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in Syria, who still behold the church of Rome with the greatest aversion and abhorrence; nay, what is still more remarkable, great numbers of that nation residing in Italy, even under the eye of the pontiff, opposed his authority during the last century, and threw the court of Rome into great perplexity. One body of these non-conforming Maronites retired into the vallies of Piedmont, where they joined the Waldenses; another, above six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head, fled into Corsica, and implored the protection of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the Inquisitors. See Urb. Cerri *Etat. present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. Now, may it not be asked here, What could have excited the Maronites in Italy to this public and vigorous opposition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true that their opinions were in all respects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of Rome? This opposition could not have been owing to any thing but a difference in point of doctrine and belief; since the church of Rome allowed, and still allows the Maronites under its jurisdiction, to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their ancestors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accustomed. Compare with the authors above cited, *Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian*, tom. i. p. 11.

[*y*] The reader will do well to consult principally on this subject, the observations subjoined by Rich. Simon, to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus, published in 12mo at Paris, in 1685. See also Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 548.

subsidies as may appease the voracity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things that are requisite for the support of their churches, and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute in general to lessen their misery. Besides, the college erected at *Rome* by Gregory XIII. with a design to instruct the young men, frequently sent from *Syria*, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and to prepossess them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expence. The patriarch of the Maronites performs his spiritual functions at *Canobin*, a convent of the monks of St. Anthony, on mount *Libanus*, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of *Patriarch of Antioch*, and always assumes the name of Peter, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle [z].

[z] See Petitqueux, Voyage a Canobin dans le Mont Liban, in the Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, tom. iv. p. 252. and tom. viii. p. 355.—La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10.—Laur. D'Arvieux *Memoires, ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418.

THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Lutheran Church.

The commencement of the Lutheran church.

I. THE rise and progress of the *Evangelical* or *Lutheran* church, have been already related, so far as they belong to the history of the Reformation. The former of these titles was assumed by that church in consequence of the original design of its founders, which was to restore to its native lustre the *gospel* of Christ, that had so long been covered with the darkness of superstition, or, in other words, to place in its proper and true light that important doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by the merits of Christ alone. Nor did the church, now under consideration, discover any reluctance against adopting the name of the great man, whom Providence employed as the honoured instrument of its foundation and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had been chiefly dispelled, who had destroyed the claims of pride and self-sufficiency, exposed the vanity of confidence in the intercession of saints and martyrs, and pointed out the Son of God as the only proper object of trust

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

trust to miserable mortals, excited his followers to assume his name, and to call their community the *Lutheran* church.

The rise of this church must be dated from that remarkable period, when the pontiff Leo X. drove Martin Luther, with his friends and followers, from the bosom of the Roman hierarchy, by a solemn and violent sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a regular form, and a considerable degree of stability and consistence, from the year 1530, when the system of doctrine and morality it had adopted, was drawn up and presented to the diet of *Augsburg*. And it was raised to the dignity of a lawful and complete hierarchy, totally independent on the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of the treaty concluded at *Passau*, in the year 1552, between Charles V. and Maurice elector of *Saxony*, relating to the religious affairs of the empire.

The sum and substance of its religious doctrine.

II. The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church, is, that the Holy Scriptures are the only source from whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain, and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common sense, who has a competent knowledge of the language in which they are composed. There are, indeed, certain *formularies* adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order. But these books have no authority but what they derive from the scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or explain these books

books so as to draw from them any propositions that are inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The chief and the most respectable of these human productions is the *Confession of Augsburg*, with the annexed *Defence* of it against the objections of the Roman-catholic doctors [*a*]. In the next rank may be placed the *Articles*

☞ [*a*] When the confession of Augsburg had been presented to the diet of that city, the Roman-catholic doctors, were employed to refute the doctrines it contained; and this pretended refutation was also read to that august assembly. A reply was immediately drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the emperor; who, under the pretext of a pacific spirit, refused to receive it. This reply was published afterwards, under the title of *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ;* and is the defence of that confession, mentioned by Dr. Mosheim as annexed to it. To speak plain, Melancthon's love of peace and concord seems to have carried him beyond what he owed to the truth, in composing this defence of the confession of Augsburg. In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans (and Chytræus among others) look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melancthon makes several strange concessions to the church of Rome; whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation; and adopts those remarkable words of Theophylact, that 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.' He approves of that canon of the mass, in which the priest prays that 'the bread may be changed into the body of Christ.' It is true, that in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated. There is an ample account of this whole matter, together with a history of the dissensions of the Lutheran church, in the valuable and learned work of Hospinian, entitled, 'Historiæ Sacramentariæ Pars posterior,' p. 199. & seq. These expressions in Melancthon's *Apologia*, will appear still more surprising, when we recollect that, in the course of the debates concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he, at length, seemed to lean visibly towards the opinions of Bucer and Calvin; and that, after his death, his followers were censured and persecuted in Saxony on this account, under the denomination

Articles of Smalcald [*b*], as they are commonly called, together with the shorter and larger *Catechisms of* Luther, designed for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of persons of riper years. To these standard-books most churches add the *Form of Concord;* which, though it be not universally received, has not on that account, occasioned any animosity or disunion; as the few points that prevent its being adopted by some churches are of an indifferent nature [*c*], and do not,

denomination of Philippists. This shews either that the great man now under consideration changed his opinions, or that he had formerly been seeking union and concord at the expence of truth.

☞ [*b*] The articles here mentioned were drawn up at Smalcald by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the protestant electors, princes, and states, at that place. They were principally designed to shew how far the Lutherans were disposed to go, in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. And though the terms in which these articles are expressed, be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the confession, the Apology, and the Form of Concord.

☞ [*c*] Dr. Mosheim, like an artful painter, shades those objects in the history of Lutheranism, which it is impossible to expose with advantage to a full view. Of this nature was the conduct of the Lutheran doctors in the deliberations relating to the famous Form of Concord here mentioned! a conduct that discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of Rome than with the principles of a protestant church. The reader, who is desirous of an ample demonstration of the truth and justice of this censure, has only to consult the learned work of Rod. Hospinian, entitled, 'Concordia Discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Burgensis.' The history of this remarkable production is more amply related in the thirty-ninth and following paragraphs of this first chapter, and in the notes, which the translator has taken the liberty to add there, in order to cast a proper light upon some things that are too interesting to be viewed superficially. In the mean time I shall only observe, that the points in the Form of Concord, that prevented its being universally received, are not of such an indifferent nature

as

not, in any degree, affect the grand and fundamental principles of true religion [*d*].

III. The form of public worship, and the rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted as a part of it, gave rise to disputes in several places, during the infancy of the Lutheran church. Some were inclined to retain a greater number of the ceremonies and customs that had been so excessively multiplied in the church of *Rome*, than seemed either lawful or expedient to others. The latter, after the example of the Helvetic reformers, had their views entirely turned towards that simplicity and gravity that characterised the Christian worship in the primitive times; while the former were of opinion, that some indulgence was to be shewn to the weakness of the multitude, and some regard paid to institutions that had acquired a certain degree of weight through long established custom. But as these contending parties were both persuaded that the ceremonial part of religion was, generally speaking, a matter of human institution, and that consequently a diversity of external rites might be admitted among different churches professing the same religion, without any prejudice to the bonds of charity and fraternal union, these disputes could not be of any long duration. In the mean time, all those ceremonies and observances of the church of *Rome*,

The ceremonies and public worship of the Lutheran church.

as Dr. Mosheim seems to imagine. To maintain the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's body, together with its real and peculiar presence, in the eucharist, and to exclude from their communion the protestants, who denied these palpable absurdities, was the plan of the Lutheran doctors in composing and recommending the Form of Concord; and this plan can neither be looked upon as a matter of pure indifference, nor as a mark of Christian charity. But for a further proof of this, see sect. xxxix. already referred to.

[*d*] See, for an account of the Lutheran confessions of faith, Christ. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 114.

Rome, whether of a public or private nature, that carried palpable marks of error and superstition, were every where rejected without hesitation; and wise precautions were used to regulate the forms of public worship in such a manner, that the genuine fruits of piety should not be choked by a multitude of insignificant rites. Besides, every church was allowed the privilege of retaining so much of the ancient form of worship as might be still observed without giving offence, and as seemed suited to the character of the people, the genius of the government, and the nature and circumstances of the place where it was founded. Hence it has happened, that, even so far down as the present times, the Lutheran churches differ considerably one from the other, with respect both to the number and nature of their religious ceremonies; a circumstance so far from tending to their dishonour, that it is, on the contrary, a very striking proof of their wisdom and moderation [*e*].

Concerning the visible head, and the form of government of the Lutheran church.

IV. The supreme civil rulers of every Lutheran state are clothed also with the dignity, and perform the functions of supremacy in the church. The very essence of civil government seems manifestly to point out the necessity of investing the sovereign with this spiritual supremacy [*f*], and the tacit consent of the Lutheran churches has confirmed the dictates of wise policy in this respect. It must not, however, be imagined, that the ancient

[*e*] See Balth. Meisnerius, *Lib. de Legibus.* lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666.—Jo. Adam Scherzerus, *Breviar. Hulsemann. Enucl.* p. 1313—1321.

[*f*] Since nothing is more inconsistent with that subordination and concord, which are among the great ends of civil government, than *imperium in imperio*, i. e. two independent sovereignties in the same body politic: Hence the genius of government, as well as the spirit of genuine Christianity, proclaims the equity of that constitution, that makes the supreme head of the state, the supreme visible ruler of the church.

cient rights and privileges of the people in ecclesiastical affairs have been totally abolished by this constitution of things; since it is certain, that the vestiges of the authority exercised by them in the primitive times, though more striking in one place than in another, are yet more or less visible every where. Besides, it must be carefully remembered, that all civil rulers of the Lutheran persuasion are effectually restrained, by the fundamental principles of the doctrine they profess, from any attempts to change or destroy the established rule of faith and manners, to make any alteration in the essential doctrines of their religion, or in any thing that is intimately connected with them, or to impose their particular opinions upon their subjects in a despotic and arbitrary manner.

The councils, or societies, appointed by the sovereign to watch over the interests of the church, and to govern and direct its affairs, are composed of persons versed in the knowledge, both of civil and ecclesiastical law, and, according to a very ancient denomination, are called *Consistories*. The internal government of the Lutheran church seems equally removed from *episcopacy* on the one hand, and from *presbyterianism* on the other, if we except the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who retain the form of ecclesiastical government that preceded the Reformation, purged, indeed, from the superstitions and abuses that rendered it so odious [*g*]. This constitution of the Lutheran hierarchy will not seem surprising, when the sentiments

☞ [*g*] In these two kingdoms the church is ruled by bishops and superintendants, under the inspection and authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal is primate of Sweden, and the only archbishop among the Lutherans. The luxury and licentiousness that too commonly flow from the opulence of the Roman Catholic clergy, are unknown in these two northern states; since the revenues of the prelate now mentioned do not amount to more than 400 pounds yearly, while those of the bishops are proportionably small.

timents of that people, with respect to ecclesiastical polity, are duly considered. On the one hand, they are persuaded that there is no law, of divine authority, which points out a distinction between the ministers of the gospel with respect to rank, dignity, or prerogatives; and therefore they recede from *episcopacy*. But, on the other hand, they are of opinion, that a certain subordination, a diversity in point of rank and privileges among the clergy, are not only highly useful, but also necessary to the perfection of church communion, by connecting, in consequence of a mutual dependance, more closely together the members of the same body; and thus they avoid the uniformity of the *presbyterian* government. They are not, however, agreed with respect to the extent of this subordination, and the degrees of superiority and precedence that ought to distinguish their doctors; for in some places this is regulated with much more regard to the ancient rules of church-government, than is discovered in others. As the divine law is silent on this head, different opinions may be entertained, and different forms of ecclesiastical polity adopted, without a breach of Christian charity and fraternal union.

The Lutheran liturgies, their public worship, and their method of instructing.

V. Every country has its own *Liturgies*, which are the rules of proceeding in every thing that relates to external worship, and the public exercise of religion. These rules, however, are not of an immutable nature, like those institutions which bear the stamp of a divine authority, but may be augmented, corrected, or illustrated, by the order of the sovereign, when such changes appear evidently to be necessary or expedient. The liturgies used in the different countries that have embraced the system of Luther, agree perfectly in all the essential branches of religion, in all matters that can be looked upon as of real moment and importance; but they differ widely in many things of

of an indifferent nature, concerning which the Holy Scriptures are silent, and which compose that part of the public religion that derives its authority from the wisdom and appointment of men. Assemblies for the celebration of divine worship meet every where at stated times. Here the holy scriptures are read publicly, prayers and hymns are addressed to the Deity, the sacraments are administered, and the people are instructed in the knowledge of religion, and excited to the practice of virtue by the discourses of their ministers. The wisest methods are used for the religious education of youth, who are not only carefully instructed in the elements of Christianity in the public schools, but are also examined by the pastors of the churches to which they belong, in a public manner, in order to the farther improvement of their knowledge, and the more vigorous exertion of their faculties in the study of divine truth. Hence in almost every province, *Cathechisms* which contain the essential truths of religion, and the main precepts of morality, are published and recommended by the authority of the sovereign, as rules to be followed by the masters of schools, and by the ministers of the church, both in their private and public instructions. But as Luther left behind him an accurate and judicious production of this kind, in which the fundamental principles of religion and morality are explained and confirmed with the greatest perspicuity and force, both of evidence and expression, this compendious *Cathechism* of that eminent reformer is universally adopted as the first introduction to religious knowledge, and is one of the *standard-books* of the church which bears his name. And, indeed, all the provincial cathechisms are no more than illustrations and enlargements on this excellent abridgment of faith and practice.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The holidays, and ecclesiastical discipline of the Lutheran church.

VI. Among the days that are held sacred in the Lutheran church (besides that which is celebrated every week in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead), we may reckon all such as were signalized by those glorious and important events that proclaim the celestial mission of the Saviour, and the divine authority of his holy religion [*h*]. These sacred festivals, the grateful and well-grounded piety of ancient times had always held in the highest veneration. But the Lutheran church has gone yet farther; and, to avoid giving offence to weak brethren, has retained several which seem to have derived the respect that is paid to them, rather from the suggestions of superstition than from the dictates of true religion. There are some churches who carry the desire of multiplying festivals so far, as to observe religiously the days that were formerly set apart for celebrating the memory of the *twelve apostles*.

It is well known, that the power of *excommunication*, i. e. of banishing from its bosom obstinate and scandalous transgressors, was a privilege enjoyed and exercised by the church from the remotest antiquity; and it is no less certain, that this privilege was perverted often to the most iniquitous and odious purposes. The founders, therefore, of the Lutheran church undertook to remove the abuses and corruptions under which this branch of ecclesiastical discipline laboured, and to restore it to its primitive purity and vigour. At first their attempt seemed to be crowned with success; since it is plain, that during the sixteenth century, no opposition of any moment was made to the wise and moderate exercise of this spiritual authority. But in process of time this privilege fell imperceptibly into contempt; the terror of excommunication

☞ [*h*] Such, (for example) are the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God; the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of pentecost, &c.

nication lost its force; and ecclesiastical discipline was reduced to such a shadow, that, in most places, there are scarcely any remains, any traces of it to be seen at this day. This change may be attributed partly to the corrupt propensities of mankind, who are naturally desirous of destroying the influence of every institution that is designed to curb their licentious passions. It must however, be acknowledged, that this relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline was not owing to this cause alone; other circumstances concurred to diminish the respect and submission that had been paid to the spiritual tribunal. On the one hand, the clergy abused this important privilege in various ways; some misapplying the severity of excommunication through ignorance or imprudence, while others, still more impiously, perverted an institution, in itself extremely useful, to satisfy their private resentments, and to avenge themselves of those who had dared to offend them. On the other hand, the counsels of certain persons in power, who considered the privilege of excommunicating in the hands of the clergy as derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society, had no small influence in bringing this branch of ghostly jurisdiction into disrepute. It is however certain, that whatever causes may have contributed to produce this effect, the effect itself was much to be lamented, as it removed one of the most powerful restraints upon iniquity. Nor will it appear surprising, when this is duly considered, that the manners of the Lutherans are so remarkably depraved, and that in a church that is deprived almost of all authority and discipline, multitudes affront the public by their audacious irregularities, and transgress, with a frontless impudence, through the prospect of impunity.

Of the prosperous and calamitous events that have happened to the Lutheran church.

VII. The prosperous and unfavourable events that belong to the history of the Lutheran church, since the happy establishment of its liberty and independence, are neither numerous nor remarkable, and may consequently be mentioned in a few words. The rise and progress of this church, before its final and permanent establishment, have been already related; but that very religious peace, which was the instrument of its stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits [*i*]. Towards the conclusion of this century, Gebhard, archbishop of *Cologn*, discovered a propensity to enter into its communion, and, having contracted the bonds of matrimony, formed the design of introducing the reformation into his dominions. But this arduous attempt, which was in direct contradiction with the famous *Ecclesiastical Reservation* [*k*] stipulated in the articles of the peace of religion concluded at *Augsburg*, proved abortive, and the prelate was obliged to resign his dignity, and to abandon his country [*l*]. On the other hand, it is certain, that the adversaries of the Lutheran church were not permitted to disturb its tranquillity,

☞ [*i*] The reason of this will be seen in the following note.

☞ [*k*] In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled in the year 1555, in order to execute the treaty of Passau, the several states that had already embraced the Lutheran religion, were confirmed in the full enjoyment of their religious liberty. To prevent, however, as far as was possible, the farther progress of the Reformation, Charles V. stipulated for the catholics the famous Ecclesiastical Reservation; by which it was decreed, that if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic, should, in time to come, renounce the faith of Rome, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by the chapter or college, possessed of the power of election.

[*l*] See Jo. Dav. Koleri *Dissertatio de Gebhardo Truchsessio.* —Jo. Pet. à Ludewig *Reliquiæ MStorum omnis ævi*, tom. v. p. 383.—See also a German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A. 1748, p. 484.

tranquillity, or to hurt, in any essential point, its liberty, prosperity, and independence. Their intentions, indeed, were malignant enough; and it appeared evident, from many striking circumstances, that they were secretly projecting a new attack upon the protestants, with a view to annul the treaty of *Passau*, which had been confirmed at *Augsburg*, and to have them declared public enemies to the empire. Such was undoubtedly the unjust and seditious design of Francis Burckhard, in composing the famous book *De Autonomia*, which was published in the year 1586; and also of Pistorius, in drawing up the *Reasons*, which the marquis of Bade alleged in vindication of his returning back from Lutheranism into the bosom of popery [*m*]. These writers, and others of the same stamp, treat the *Religious Peace*, negotiated at *Passau*, and ratified at *Augsburg*, as unjust, because obtained by force of arms, and as null, because concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiff. They pretend also to prove, that by the changes and interpolations, which they affirm to have been made by Melancthon, in the confession of *Augsburg*, after it had been presented to the diet, the protestants forfeited all the privileges and advantages that they derived from the treaty now mentioned. This latter accusation gave rise to long and warm debates during this and the following century. Many learned and ingenious productions were published on that occasion, in which the Lutheran divines proved, with the utmost perspicuity and force of argument, that the Confession of *Augsburg* was preserved in their church in its first state, uncorrupted by any mixture, and that none of their brethren had ever departed in any instance from

[*m*] See Chr. Aug. Salig, *Histor. August. Confession*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 767.

the doctrines it contains [*n*]. They that felt most sensibly the bitter and implacable hatred of the papists against the doctrine and worship of the Lutheran church (which they disdainfully called the *new religion*), were the members of that church who lived in the territories of Roman-catholic princes. This is more especially true of the protestant subjects of the house of *Austria* [*o*], who have experienced, in the most affecting manner, the dire effects of bigotry and superstition seated on a throne, and who lost the greatest part of their liberty before the conclusion of this century.

The state of learning among the Lutherans.

VIII. While the votaries of *Rome* were thus meditating the ruin of the Lutheran church, and exerting, for this purpose, all the powers of secret artifice and open violence, the followers of Luther were assiduously bent on defeating their efforts, and left no means unemployed, that seemed proper to maintain their own doctrine, and to strengthen their cause. The calamities they had suffered were fresh in their remembrance; and hence they were admonished to use all possible precautions to prevent their falling again into the like unhappy circumstances. Add to this, the zeal of princes and

[*n*] See Salig. *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i.—It cannot indeed be denied, that Melancthon corrected and altered some passages of the Confession of Augsburg. Nay, more; it is certain, that, in the year 1555, he made use of the extraordinary credit and influence he then had, to introduce among the Saxon churches an edition of that confession, which was not only corrected in several places, but was, moreover, upon the whole, very different from the original one. But his conduct in this step, which was extremely audacious, or at least highly imprudent, never received the approbation of the Lutheran church, nor was the Augsburg Confession, in this new shape, ever admitted as one of the standard-books of its faith and doctrine.

[*o*] See the *Austri Evangelica* of the learned Raupachius, tom. i. p. 152. tom. ii. p. 387. This work is composed in the German language.

and men in power for the advancement of true religion, which it must be acknowledged, was much greater in this century, than it is in the times in which we live. Hence the original confederacy that had been formed among the German princes for the maintenance of Lutheranism, and of which the elector of *Saxony* was the chief, gained new strength from day to day, and foreign sovereigns, particularly those of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, were invited to enter into this grand alliance. And as it was universally agreed, that the stability and lustre of the rising church depended much on the learning of its ministers, and the progress of the sciences among those in general who professed its doctrines, so the greatest part of the confederate princes promoted, with the greatest zeal, the culture of letters, and banished, wherever their salutary influence could extend, that baneful ignorance that is the mother of superstition. The academies founded by the Lutherans, at *Jena*, *Helmstadt*, and *Altorf*, and by the Calvinists at *Franeker*, *Leyden*, and other places; the ancient universities reformed and accommodated to the constitution and exigencies of a purer church than that under whose influence they had been at first established; the great number of schools that were opened in every city; the ample rewards, together with the distinguished honours and privileges that were bestowed on men of learning and genius; all these circumstances bear honourable testimony to the generous zeal of the German princes for the advancement of useful knowledge. These noble establishments were undoubtedly expensive, and required large funds for their support. These were principally drawn from the revenues and possessions, which the piety or superstition of ancient times had consecrated to the multiplication of convents, the erection, or

embellishment of churches, and other religious uses.

The study of Belles Lettres and languages promoted.

IX. These generous and zealous efforts in the cause of learning were attended with remarkable success. Almost all the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with emulation, and brought to greater degrees of perfection. All those, whose views were turned to the service of the church, were obliged to apply themselves, with diligence and assiduity, to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin literature, in order to qualify them for performing with dignity and success the duties of the sacred function; and it is well known that in these branches of erudition several Lutheran doctors excelled in such a manner, as to acquire a deathless name in the republic of letters. Melancthon, Cario, Chytræus, Reineccius, and others, were eminent for their knowledge of history. More particularly Flacius, one of the authors of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses* * (that immortal work, which restored to the light of evidence and truth the facts relating to the rise and progress of the Christian church, which had been covered with thick darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables), may be deservedly considered as the parent of ecclesiastical history. Nor should we omit mentioning the learned Martin Chemnitz, to whose *Examination of the Decrees of the Council of Trent*, the history of religion is more indebted, than many, at this day, are apt to imagine. While so many branches of learning were cultivated with zeal, some, it must be confessed, were too

☞ * The joint authors of this famous work (besides Flacius Illyricus) were Nicolaus Gallus, Johannes Wigandus, and Matthias Judex, all ministers of Magdeburg; and they were assisted by Caspar Nidpruckius an Imperial counsellor, Johannes Baptista Heincelius an Augustinian, Basil Faber, and others.

too little pursued. Among these we may place the history of literature and philosophy; the important science of criticism; the study of antiquities; and other objects of erudition that stand in connection with them. It is, however, to be observed, that notwithstanding the neglect with which these branches of science seemed, too generally, to have been treated, the foundations of their culture and improvement in future ages were really laid in this century. On the other hand, it is remarkable that Latin eloquence and poetry were carried to a very high degree of improvement, and exhibited orators and poets of the first order; from which circumstance alone it may be fairly concluded, that, if all the branches of literature and philosophy were not brought to that pitch of perfection, of which they were susceptible, this was not owing to the want of industry or genius, but rather to the restraints laid upon genius by the infelicity of the times. All the votaries of science, whom a noble emulation excited to the pursuit of literary fame, were greatly animated by the example, the influence, and the instructions of Melancthon, who was deservedly considered as the great and leading doctor of the Lutheran church, and whose sentiments, relating both to sacred and profane erudition, were so universally respected, that scarcely any had the courage to oppose them. In the next rank to this eminent reformer may be mentioned Joachim Camerarius of *Leipsic*, a shining ornament to the republic of letters in this century, who, by his zeal and application contributed much to promote the cause of universal learning, and more especially the study of elegant literature.

The various fate of philosophy among the Lutherans.

X. The revolutions of philosophy among the Lutheran doctors were many and various. Luther and Melancthon seemed to set out with a resolution to banish every species of philosophy

sophy [*p*] from the church; and though it is impossible to justify entirely this part of their conduct, yet they are less to be blamed than those scholastic doctors, whose barbarous method of teaching philosophy was expressly disgusting, and who, by a miserable abuse of the subtile precepts of Aristotle, had perverted the dictates of common sense, and introduced the greatest obscurity and confusion both in philosophy and religion. But though these abuses led the two great men now mentioned too far, and were carrying them into the opposite extreme; yet their own recollection suspended their precipitation, and they both perceived, before it was too late, that true philosophy was necessary to restrain the licentious flights of mere genius and fancy, and to guard the sanctuary of religion against the inroads of superstition and enthusiasm [*q*]. It was in consequence of this persuasion that Melancthon composed, in a plain and familiar style, abridgments of almost all the various branches of philosophy, which, during many years, were explained publicly to the studious youth in all the Lutheran academies and schools of learning. This celebrated reformer may not improperly be considered as an *eclectic;* for though in many points he followed Aristotle, and retained some degree of propensity

[*p*] See Christ. Aug. Heumanni *Acta philosopher.* art. ii. part X. p. 579.—Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *Dissertat. de varia Aristotelis fortuna in Scholis Protestantium,* which Launoy has prefixed to his book *De fortuna Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi,* sect. viii. p. 15. sect. xiii. p. 36.

☞ [*q*] Some writers, either through malignity, or for want of better information, have pretended that Luther rejected the scholastic philosophy through a total ignorance of its nature and precepts. Those that have ventured upon such an assertion must have been themselves grossly ignorant of the history of literature in general, as well as of the industry and erudition of Luther in particular. For a demonstrative proof of this, see Bruckeri *Historia Critica Philosophiæ,* tom. iv. part I. p. 94, 95, 96, &c.

propensity to the ancient philosophy of the schools, yet he drew many things from the fecundity of his own genius, and had often recourse also to the doctrines of the Platonics and Stoics.

Philosophical sect, —Aristotelians and Romæans.

XI. This method of teaching philosophy, however recommendable on account of its simplicity and perspicuity, did not long enjoy alone and unrivalled, the great credit and authority it had obtained. Certain acute and subtile doctors, having perceived that Melancthon, in composing his *Abridgments*, had discovered a peculiar and predominant attachment to the philosophy of Aristotle, thought it was better to go to the source, than to drink at the stream; and therefore read and explained to their disciples the works of the Stagirite. On the other hand, it was observed, that the Jesuits and other votaries of *Rome*, artfully made use of the ambiguous terms and the intricate sophistry of the ancient schoolmen, in order to puzzle the protestants, and to reduce them to silence, when they wanted such arguments as were adapted to produce conviction. And, therefore, many protestant doctors, thought it might be advantageous to their cause to have the studious youth instructed in the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught in the schools, that thus they might be qualified to defend themselves with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Hence there arose, towards the conclusion of this century three philosophical sects, the *Melancthonian*, the *Aristotelian*, and the *Scholastic*. The first declined gradually and soon disappeared; while the other two imperceptibly grew into one, and acquired new vigour by this coalition, increased daily in reputation and influence, and were adopted in all the schools of learning. It is true, the followers of Ramus made violent inroads, in several places, upon the territories of these combined sects, and sometimes with

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

with a certain appearance of success; but their hopes were transitory; for after various struggles they were obliged to yield, and were, at length, entirely banished from the schools [*r*].

The Paracelsists, or Fire Philosophers.

XII. Such also was the fate of the disciples of Paracelsus, who, from the grand principle of their physical system, were called *Fire philosophers* [*s*], and who aimed at nothing less than the total subversion of the peripatetic philosophy and the introduction of their own reveries into the public schools. Towards the conclusion of this century the Paracelsists really made a figure in almost all the countries of *Europe*, as their sect was patronized and supported by the genius and eloquence of several great men, who exerted themselves, with the utmost zeal and assiduity, in its cause, and endeavoured, both by their writings and their transactions, to augment its credit. In *England* it found an eminent defender in M. Robert Flood, or Fludd, a man of a very singular genius [*t*], who illustrated, or at least attempted

[*r*] Jo. Herm. ab. Elswhich, *De fatis Aristot. in Scholis Protest.* sect. xxi. p. 54.—Jo. George Walchius, *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. iii. v. *in Parergis Academicis*, p. 613, 617. —Otto. Frid. Schutzius, *Devita Chytræi*, lib. iv. sect. iv. p. 19.

☞ [*s*] This fanatical sect of philosophers had several denominations. They were called Theosophists, from their declaiming against human reason as a dangerous and deceitful guide, and their representing a divine and supernatural illumination as the only means of arriving at truth. They were called *Philosophiper ignem*, i. e. Fire-philosophers, from their maintaining that the intimate essences of natural things were only to be known by the trying efforts of fire, directed in a chymical process. They were, lastly denominated *Paracelsists*, from the eminent physician and chymist of that name, who was the chief ornament, and leader of that extraordinary sect.

☞ [*t*] The person here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim is not the famous Dominican monk of that name, who, from his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowledge, was called the Seeker, and who, from his passion for chemistry, was suspected of

attempted to illustrate, the philosophy of Paracelsus, in a great number of treatises, which, even in our times, are not entirely destitute of readers and admirers. The same philosophy got a certain footing in *France*, had several votaries in that kingdom, and was propagated with zeal at *Paris*, by a person whose name was Rivier, in opposition to the sentiments and efforts of the university of that city [*u*]. Its cause was industriously promoted in *Denmark* by Severinus [*w*]; in *Germany*, by Kunrath, an eminent physician at *Dresden*, who died in the year 1605 [*x*]; and in other countries by a considerable number of warm votaries, who were by no means unsuccessful in augmenting its reputation, and multiplying its followers. As all these heralds of the new philosophy accompanied their instructions with a striking air of piety and devotion, and seemed, in propagating their strange system, to propose to themselves no other end than the advancement of the divine glory, and the restoration of peace and concord in a divided church; a motive, in appearance, so generous and noble could not fail to procure them friends and protectors. Accordingly, we find, that towards the conclusion of this century, several persons, eminent for their piety, and distinguished by their zeal for the advancement of true religion, joined themselves to this sect. Of this number were the Lutheran doctors Wigelius, Arndius, and others, who

of magic, but a famous physician born in the year 1574, at Milgate in Kent, and very remarkable for his attachment to the alchymists. See Ant. Wood, *Athenar. Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610. and *Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniens.* lib. ii. p. 390.—P. Gassendi *Examen Philosoph. Fluddanæ*, tom. iii. opp. p. 259.

[*u*] Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 327, & passim.

[*w*] Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 623.

[*x*] Jo. Molleri, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 440.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

who were led into the snare by their ill-grounded notions of human reason, and who apprehended that controversy and argumentation might lead men to substitute anew the pompous and intricate jargon of the schools in the place of solid and sincere piety.

The controversy between Hofmann and his colleagues.

XIII. Among those that discovered a propensity towards the system of the Paracelsists, or Theosophists, was the celebrated Daniel Hofmann, Professor of Divinity in the university of *Helmstadt*, who, from the year 1598, had declared open war against philosophy, and who continued to oppose it with the greatest obstinacy and violence. Laying hold of some particular opinions of Luther, and certain passages in the writings of that great man, he extravagantly maintained, that philosophy was the mortal enemy of religion; that *truth* was divisible into two branches, the one *philosophical* and the other *theological;* and that what was *true* in philosophy, was *false* in theology. These absurd and pernicious tenets naturally alarmed the judicious doctors of the university, and excited a warm controversy between Hofmann and his colleagues Owen Guntherus, Cornelius Martin, John Caselius, and Duncan Liddel; a controversy also of too much consequence to be confined within such narrow bounds, and which accordingly, was carried on in other countries with the same fervour. The tumults it excited in *Germany* were appeased by the interposition of Henry Julius, duke of *Brunswick*, who, having made a careful inquiry into the nature of this debate, and consulted the professors of the academy of *Rostoc* on that subject, commanded Hofmann to retract publicly the invectives he had thrown out against philosophy in his writings and in his academical lectures, and to acknowledge, in the most open manner, the harmony and union

union of sound philosophy with true and genuine theology [*y*].

The science of theology corrected and improved.

XIV. The theological system that now prevails in the Lutheran academies, is not of the same tenor or spirit with that which was adopted in the infancy of the Reformation. As time and experience are necessary to bring all things to perfection, so the doctrine of the Lutheran church changed, imperceptibly and by degrees, its original form, and was improved and perfected in many respects. This will appear both evident and striking to those who are acquainted with the history of the doctrines relating to the interpretation of scripture, free-will, predestination, and other points, and who compare the Lutheran systems of divinity of an earlier date, with those that have been composed in modern times. The case could not well be otherwise. The glorious defenders of religious liberty, to whom we owe the various blessings of the Reformation, as they were conducted only by the suggestions of their natural sagacity, whose advances in the pursuit of knowledge are gradual and progressive, could not at once behold the truth in all its lustre, and in all its extent, but, as usually happens to persons that have been long accustomed to the darkness of ignorance, their approaches towards knowledge were but slow, and their views of things but imperfect. The Lutherans were greatly assisted both in correcting and illustrating the articles of their faith, partly by the controversies they were obliged to carry on with the Roman catholic doctors,

[*y*] There is an accurate account of this controversy, with an enumeration of the writings published on both sides of the question, in the life of Owen Guntherus, which is inserted by Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 225.—See also Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *De fatis Aristotelis in Scholia Protestant.* sect. xxvii. p. 76; and a German work, entitled, Gotter. Arnold, *Kirchen and Kitzer-Historie*, p. 947.

doctors, and the disciples of Zuingle and Calvin, and partly by the intestine divisions that reigned among themselves, of which an account shall be given in this chapter. They have been absurdly reproached, on account of this variation in their doctrine, by Bossuet, and other papal writers, who did not consider that the founders of the Lutheran church never pretended to divine inspiration; and that it is by discovering first the errors of others, that the wise generally prepare themselves for the investigation of truth.

The state of exegetic theology.

XV. The first and principal object that drew the attention and employed the industry of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings, which, according to the doctrine of the Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom; all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened, that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans was equal to that of the eminent and learned doctors that adorned that communion. At the head of them all, Luther and Melancthon are undoubtedly to be placed; the former, on account of the sagacity and learning, discovered in his explications of several portions of scripture, and particularly of the books of Moses, and the latter, in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and other learned labours of that kind which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors, of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world, by their successful application to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in which we may rank Matthias Flacius, whose *Glossary and key to the sacred writings* [z] is extremely useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; John Bugenhagius, Justus Jonas, Andrew Osiander,

[z] The Latin titles are *Glossa Scripturæ Sacræ*, and *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*.

der, and Martin Chemnitz, whose *Harmonies of the Evangelists* are not void of merit. To these we may add Victor Strigelius and Joachim Camerarius, of whom the latter, in his *Commentary on the New Testament*, expounds the scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only; and laying aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term, and the spirit of each phrase, by the rules of criticism, and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient.

The respective merits of the sacred interpreters.

XVI. All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions and chimerical applications of scripture-passages, to objects, which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary, their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that golden rule of interpretation inculcated by Luther, *That there is no more than one sense annexed to the words of Scripture throughout all the Books of the Old and New Testament* [*a*]. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Many, labouring under the old and inveterate disease of an irregular fancy and a scanty judgment, were still seeking for hidden significations and double meanings in the expressions of holy writ. They were perpetually busied in twisting all the prophe-

☞ [*a*] This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetical, parabolical, and figurative expressions be excepted in its application.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

cies of the Old Testament into an intimate connection with the life, sufferings, and transactions of Jesus Christ; and were over sagacious in finding out, in the history of the patriarchal and Jewish churches, the types and figures of the events that have happened in modern, and that may yet happen in future times. In all this they discovered more imagination than judgment; more wit than wisdom. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may be divided, methinks with propriety enough into two classes, with Luther at the head of the one, and Melancthon presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a plain and familiar explication of the sense of scripture, applied its decisions to the fixing of controverted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion.—Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter who first divided the discourses of the sacred writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterwards proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each part, taken separately, applying the result as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine or matters of controversy.

Concerning the didactic theology or doctrine of the Lutheran church.

XVII. Complete systems of theology were far from being numerous in this century. Melancthon, the most eminent of all the Lutheran doctors, collected and digested the doctrines of the church, which he so eminently adorned, into a body of divinity, under the vague title of *Loci Communes*, i. e. *A Common Place Book of Theology*. This compilation, which was afterwards, at different times reviewed, corrected, and enlarged by its author, was in such high repute during this century, and even in succeeding times, that it was considered as an universal model of doctrine for all those, who either instructed the people by their

their public discourses, or promoted the knowledge of religion by their writings [*b*]. The title prefixed to this performance, indicates sufficiently the method, or rather the irregularity that reigns in the arrangement of its materials; and shews, that it was not the design of Melancthon to place the various truths of religion in that systematical concatenation, and that scientific order and connection, that are observed by the philosophers in their demonstrations and discourses, but to propose them with freedom and simplicity, as they presented themselves to his view. Accordingly, in the first editions of the book under consideration, the method observed, both in delineating and illustrating these important truths, is extremely plain, and is neither loaded with the terms, the definitions, nor the distinctions that abound in the writings of the philosophers. Thus did the Lutheran doctors, in the first period of the rising church, renounce and avoid, in imitation of the great reformer, whose name they bear, all the abstruse reasoning, and subtile discussions of the scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual debates with the artful champions of the church of *Rome*, engaged them by degrees, as has been already observed, to change their language and their methods of reasoning; so that, in process of time, the simplicity that had reigned in their theological systems, and in their manner of explaining the truths of religion, almost totally disappeared. Even Melancthon himself fell imperceptibly into the new method, or rather into the old method revived, and enlarged the subsequent editions of his *Loci Communes*, by the addition of several philosophical illustrations, designed to expose the

[*b*] See Jo. Franc. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. xiii. tom. i. p. 381.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

fallacious reasonings of the Roman Catholic doctors. As yet, however, the discussions of philosophy were but sparingly used, and the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen was kept at a certain distance, and seldom borrowed. But when the founders of the Lutheran church were removed by death, and the Jesuits attacked the principles of the Reformation with redoubled animosity, armed with the intricate and perplexing dialectic of the schools; then, indeed, the scene changed and theology assumed another aspect. The stratagem employed by the Jesuits corrupted our doctors, induced them to revive that intricate and abstruse manner of defending and illustrating religious truth that Luther and his associates had rejected, and to introduce, into the plain and artless paths of theology, all the thorns, and thistles, all the dark and devious labyrinths of the scholastic philosophy. This unhappy change was deeply lamented by several divines of eminent piety and learning about the commencement of the seventeenth century, who regretted the loss of that amiable simplicity that is the attendant on divine truth; but they could not prevail upon the professors, in the different universities, to sacrifice the jargon of the schools to the dictates of common sense, nor to return to the plain, serious, and unaffected method of teaching theology that had been introduced by Luther. These obstinate doctors pleaded necessity in behalf of their scholastic divinity, and looked upon this pretended necessity as superior to all authorities, and all examples, however respectable.

The state of morality among the Lutherans.

XVIII. Those who are sensible of the intimate connexion that there is between faith and practice, between the truths and duties of religion, will easily perceive the necessity that there was of reforming the corrupt morality, as well as the superstitious doctrines, of the church of *Rome*. It is

is therefore natural, that the same persons, who had spirit enough to do the one, should think themselves obliged to attempt the other. This they accordingly attempted, and not without a certain degree of success; for it may be affirmed with truth, that there is more genuine piety and more excellent rules of conduct in the few practical productions of Luther, Melancthon, Weller, and Rivius, to mention no more, than are to be found in the innumerable volumes of all the ancient *Casuists* and *Moralisers* [c], as they are called in the barbarous language of these remote periods. It is not, however, meant even to insinuate, that the notions of these great men concerning the important science of morality were either sufficiently accurate or extensive. It appears, on the contrary, from the various debates that were carried on during this century, concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, and from the answers that were given by famous casuists to persons perplexed with religious scruples, that the true *principles* of morality were not as yet fixed with perspicuity and precision, the agreement or difference between the laws of nature and the precepts of Christianity sufficiently examined and determined, nor the proper distinctions made between those parts of the gospel dispensation, which are agreeable to right reason, and those that are beyond its reach and comprehension. Had not the number of adversaries, with whom the Lutheran doctors were obliged to contend, given them perpetual enployment in the field of controversy, and robbed them of that precious leisure which they might have consecrated to the advancement of real piety and virtue,

☞ [c] The moral writers of this century were called Moralisantes, a barbarous term, of which the English word *Moralisers* bears some resemblance.

tue, they would certainly have been free from the defects now mentioned, and would, perhaps, have equalled the best moral writers of modern times. This consideration will also diminish our wonder at a circumstance, which otherwise might seem surprising that none of the famous Lutheran doctors attempted to give a regular system of morality. Melancthon himself, whose exquisite judgment rendered him peculiarly capable of reducing into a compendious system the elements of every science, never seems to have thought of treating morals in this manner; but has inserted, on the contrary, all his practical rules and instructions under the theological articles that relate to the *law*, *sin*, *free-will*, *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*.

Polemic or controversial theology.

XIX. All the divines of this century were educated in the school of controversy, and so trained up to spiritual war, that an eminent theologian, and a bold and vehement disputant, were considered as synonymous terms. It could scarcely, indeed, be otherwise, in an age when foreign quarrels and intestine divisions of a religious nature threw all the countries of *Europe* into a state of agitation, and obliged the doctors of the contending churches to be perpetually in action, or at least in a posture of defence. These champions of the Reformation were not, however, all animated with the same spirit, nor did they attack and defend with the same arms. Such of them as were contemporary with Luther, or lived near his time, were remarkable for the simplicity of their reasoning, and attacked their adversaries with no other arguments than those which they drew from the declarations of the inspired writers, and the decisions of the ancient fathers. Towards the latter end of the century this method was considerably changed, and we see those doctors, who were its chief ornaments, reinforcing their cause with the succours of the Aristotelian philosophy

sophy, and thus losing, in point of perspicuity and evidence, what they gained in point of subtilty and imagined science. It is true, as has been already observed more than once, that they were too naturally, though inconsiderately, led to adopt this method of disputing by the example of their adversaries the Roman catholics. The latter having learnt, by a disagreeable and discouraging experience, that their cause was unable to support that plain and perspicuous method of reasoning, that is the proper test of religious and moral truth, had recourse to stratagem, when evidence failed, and involved both their arguments and their opinions in the dark and intricate mazes of the scholastic philosophy; and it was this that engaged the protestant doctors to change their weapons, and to employ methods of defence unworthy of the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

The spirit of zeal that animated the Lutheran divines was, generally speaking, very far from being tempered by a spirit of charity. If we except Melancthon, in whom a predominant mildness and sweetness of natural temper triumphed over the contagious ferocity of the times, all the disputants of this century discovered too much bitterness and animosity in their transactions and in their writings. Luther himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe, who he far surpassed in invectives and abuse, treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition, however elevated or respectable they might be. It must indeed be confessed, that the criminal nature of this asperity and vehemence will be much alleviated, when they are considered in one point of view with the genius of these barbarous times, and the odious cruelty and injustice of the virulent enemies, whom the oppressed reformers were called to encounter,

counter. When the impartial inquirer considers the abominable calumnies that were lavished on the authors and instruments of the Reformation; when he reflects upon the horrors of fire and sword employed, by blood-thirsty and bigotted tyrants, to extirpate and destroy those good men whom they wanted arguments to persuade and convince; will not his heart burn with a generous indignation? and will he not think it in some measure just, that such horrid proceedings should be represented in their proper colours, and be stigmatized by such expressions as are suited to their demerit?

Three periods must be distinguished in the history of the Lutheran church.

XX. In order to form a just idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church, and of the revolutions and changes that have happened in it, with their true springs and real causes, it is necessary to consider the history of that church under three distinct periods. The *first* of these extends from the commencement of the Reformation to the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546. The *second* takes in the space of time elapsed between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon, and consequently terminates in the year 1560; while the remainder of the century is comprehended in the *third* period.

The First Period.

DURING the *first* period, all things were transacted in the Lutheran Church in a manner conformable to the sentiments, counsels, and orders of Luther. This eminent Reformer, whose undaunted resolution, and amazing credit and authority, rendered him equal to the most arduous attempts, easily suppressed the commotions and dissensions that arose from time to time in the church, and did not suffer the sects, that several had attempted to form in its bosom, to gather

gather strength, or to arrive at any considerable degree of consistence and maturity. The natural consequence of this was, that, during the life of that great man, the internal state of the Lutheran church was a state of tolerable tranquillity and repose; and all such as attempted to foment divisions, or to introduce any essential changes, were either speedily reduced to silence, or obliged to retire from the new community.

Debates between Luther and the Fanatics that troubled the church during the first period.

XXI. The infancy of this church was troubled by an impetuous rabble of wrong-headed Fanatics, who introduced the utmost confusion wherever they had occasion to spread their pestilential errors, and who pretended that they had received a divine inspiration, authorising them to erect a new kingdom of Christ, in which sin and corruption were to have no place. The leaders of this turbulent and riotous sect were Munzer, Storchius, Stubner, and others, partly Swiss, and partly Germans, who kindled the flame of discord and rebellion in several parts of *Europe*, and chiefly in *Germany*, and excited among the ignorant multitude tumults and commotions, which, though less violent in some places than in others, were nevertheless, formidable wherever they appeared [*d*]. The history of this seditious band is full of obscurity and confusion. A regular, full, and accurate account of it neither has, nor could well be, committed to writing; since, on the one hand, the opinions and actions of these fanatics were a motley chaos of inconsistencies and contradictions, and, on the other, the age, in which they lived, produced few writers who had either the leisure or the capacity to observe with diligence,

[*d*] Jo. Baptista Ottius, in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8. has collected a considerable number of facts relating to these fanatical commotions, which are also mentioned by all the writers of the History of the Reformation.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

gence, or to relate with accuracy, commotions and tumults of this extraordinary kind. It is however certain, that, from the most profligate and abandoned part of this enthusiastical multitude, those seditious armies were formed, which kindled in *Germany* the *War of the Peasants*, and afterwards seized upon the city of *Munster*, involving the whole province of *Westphalia* in the most dreadful calamities. It is also well known, that the better part of this motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and, at length, embraced the communion of those who are called *Mennonites* [*e*]. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of Luther happily prevented the divisions, which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that, had it not been for the vigour and fortitude of this active and undaunted reformer, the Lutheran church would, in its infancy, have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics [*f*].

Carolostadt.

XXII. Fanatics and enthusiasts of the kind now described, while they met with the warmest opposition from Luther, found on the contrary, in Caro-

☞ [*e*] The tumults of the anabaptists in Germany, and the junction of the better part of them with Mennon, have already been mentioned in a cursory manner, sect. i. chap. ii. sect. xxi. For an ample account of the origin, doctrine, and progress of the Mennonites, see the third chapter of the second part of this third section, cent. xvi.

☞ [*f*] The danger that threatened the Lutheran church in these tumults of the German anabaptists, was so much the greater on account of the inclination which Munzer and Storck discovered at first for the sentiments of Luther, and the favourable disposition which Carolostadt seemed for some time to entertain with respect to these fanatics.

Carolostadt, his colleague, such a credulous attention to their seductions, as naturally flattered them with the hopes of his patronage and favour. This divine, who was a native of *Franconia*, was neither destitute of learning nor merit; but imprudence and precipitation were the distinguished lines of his warm and violent character. Of these he gave the most evident marks, in the year 1523, when, during the absence of Luther, he excited no small tumult at *Wittemberg*, by ordering the images to be taken out of the churches, and other enterprises of a rash and dangerous nature [*g*]. This tumult was appeased by the sudden return of Luther, whose presence and exhortations calmed the troubled spirits of the people; and here must we look for the origin of the rupture between him and Carolostadt. For the latter immediately retired from *Wittemberg* to *Orlamund*, where he not only opposed the sentiments of Luther

☞ [*g*] The reader may perhaps imagine, from Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter, that Carolostadt introduced these changes merely by his own authority; but this was far from being the case: the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, the abolition of the law which imposed celibacy upon the clergy, which are the changes hinted at by our historian as rash and perilous, were effected by Carolostadt, in conjunction with Bugenhagius, Melancthon, Jonas Amsdorff, and others, and were confirmed by the authority of the elector of Saxony. So that there is some reason to apprehend that one of the principal causes of Luther's displeasure at these changes, was their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose that he had not so far got rid of the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity and of the pernicious consequences of the use of images, &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known that it was the object of his warmest approbation. This appears from the following expressions in his letter to Amsdorff: "Carolostadii nuptiæ mire placent: novi puellum: comfortet eum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ Papisticæ libidinis." He confirmed soon afterwards this approbation by his own example.

Luther concerning the Eucharist [*h*], but also discovered, in several instances, a fanatical turn of mind [*i*]. He was therefore commanded to leave the elector of *Saxony*, which he did accordingly, and repaired to *Switzerland*, where he propagated his doctrines, and taught with success, first at *Zurich*, and afterwards at *Basil*, retaining still, however, as long as he lived, a favourable disposition towards the sect of the Anabaptists, and, in general,

☞ [*h*] This difference of opinion between Carolostadt and Luther concerning the eucharist, was the true cause of the violent rupture between those two eminent men, and it was very little to the honour of the latter. For, however the explication, which the former gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, may appear forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance as a commemoration of Christ's death, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a consubstantiation with the bread and wine, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of Luther, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of transubstantiation. And if it be supposed that Carolostadt strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alleged, that Christ pronounced the pronoun *this* (in the words, *This is my body*) pointing to his body, and not to the bread, what shall we think of Luther's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of consubstantiation by the similitude of a red hot iron, in which two elements are united, as the body of Christ is with the bread in the eucharist? But of this more in its proper place.

☞ [*i*] This censure is with too much truth applicable to Carolostadt.—Though he did not adopt the impious and abominable doctrines of Munzer and his band (as Dr. Mosheim permits the uninstructed reader to imagine by mentioning, *in general*, as being a friend to these fanatics), yet he certainly was chargeable with some extravagancies that were observable in the tenets of that wrong-headed tribe. He was for abolishing the civil law, with the municipal laws and constitutions of the German empire, and proposed substituting the law of Moses in their place. He distinguished himself by railing at the academies, declaiming against human learning, and other follies.

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

See Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia Motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part I. cap. i.—Dan Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningens, novis*, tom. i.

general, to all enthusiastic teachers, who pretended to a divine inspiration [*k*]. Thus then did Luther, in a short space of time, lay this new storm that the precipitation of Carolostadt had raised in the church.

Schwenckfeldt.

XXIII. The reforming spirit of Carolostadt, with respect to the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist, was not extinguished by his exile, in the Lutheran church. It was revived, on the contrary, by a man of much the same turn of mind, a Silesian knight, and counsellor to the duke of *Lignitz*, whose name was Gaspar Schwenckfeldt. This nobleman, seconded by Valentine Crautwald, a man of eminent learning,

☞ [*k*] This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: "Dum vixit vero anabaptistarum, et hominum divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit,"—i. e. as long as he lived, he shewed himself a friend to the anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, who pretended to divine inspiration. But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carolostadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the anabaptists in particular? Nay, more; this treatise was addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carolostadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningens.* After this reconciliation with Luther, he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and, having perused the writings of Zuingle, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired, a second time, to Zurich, and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil, to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector Palatine, and shews how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet.

learning, who lived at the court of the prince now mentioned, took notice of many things, which he looked upon as erroneous and defective, in the opinions and rites established by Luther; and, had not the latter been extremely vigilant, as well as vigorously supported by his friends and adherents, would have undoubtedly brought about a considerable schism in the church. Every circumstance in Schwenckfeldt's conduct and appearance was adapted to give him credit and influence. His morals were pure, and his life, in all respects, exemplary. His exhortations in favour of true and solid piety were warm and persuasive, and his principal zeal was employed in promoting it among the people. By this means he gained the esteem and friendship of many learned and pious men, both in the Lutheran and Helvetic churches, who favoured his sentiments, and undertook to defend him against all his adversaries [*l*]. Notwithstanding all this, he was banished by his sovereign both from the court and from his country, in the year 1528, only because Zuingle had approved of his opinions concerning the eucharist, and declared that they did not differ essentially from his own. From that time the persecuted knight wandered from place to place, under various turns of fortune, until death put an end to his trials in the year 1561 [*m*]. He had founded a small congregation in *Silesia*, which were persecuted

[*l*] See Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria* I. *Epistolar à Reformatoribus Helveticis Scriptar,* 169, 175, 225. *Museum Helvetic.* tom. iv. p. 445.

[*m*] Jo. Wigandi *Schwenckfeldianismus* Lips. 1586, in 4to. —Conr. Schlusselburgi, *Catalogi Hæreticor.* lib. x. published at Francfort in the year 1599, in 8vo.—The most accurate accounts of this nobleman have been given by Chr. Aug. Salig. in his *Histor. August. Confessionis,* tom. iii. lib. xi. p. 951. and by Godf. Arnold, in a German work, entitled, *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie,* p. 720. both which authors have pleaded the cause of Schwenckfeldt.

cuted and ejected in our times, by the popish possessors of that country; but have been restored to their former habitations and privileges, civil and religious, since the year 1742, by the present king of *Prussia* [*n*].

The doctrine of Schwenckfeldt.

XXIV. The upright intentions of Schwenckfeldt, and his zeal for the advancement of true piety, deserve, no doubt, the highest commendation; but the same thing cannot be said of his prudence and judgment. The good man had a natural propensity towards fanaticism, and fondly imagined that he had received a divine commission to propagate his opinions. He differed from Luther, and the other friends of the reformation, in three points, which it is proper to select from others of less consequence: the *first* of these points related to the doctrine concerning the eucharist. Schwenckfeldt inverted the following words of Christ: *This is my body*, and insisted on their being thus understood: "*My body is* "*this*, i. e. such as this bread which is broken "and consumed: a true and real food, which "nourisheth, satisfieth, and delighteth the soul. "*My blood is this*, that is, such in its effects as "the wine which strengthens and refresheth the "heart." The poor man imagined that this *wonderful* doctrine had been revealed to him from heaven; which circumstance alone is a sufficient demonstration of his folly.

The *second* point in which he differed from Luther, was in his hypothesis relating to the efficacy of the divine word. He denied, for example, that the *external word*, which is committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures, was endowed with the power of *healing*, *illuminating*, and *renewing* the mind; and he ascribed this power to the

[*n*] See an account of Schwenckfeldt's *Confession of Faith*, in Jo. Chr. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 457.

the *internal word*, which according to his notion, was Christ himself. His discourses, however, concerning this *internal word* were, as usually happens to persons of his turn, so full of confusion, obscurity, and contradiction, that it was difficult to find out what his doctrine really was, and whether or not it resembled that of the Mystics and Quakers, or was borrowed from a different source.

His doctrine concerning the *human nature* of Christ, formed the *third* subject of debate between him and the Lutherans. He would not allow Christ's human nature, in its exalted state, to be called a *creature*, or a created substance, as such denomination appeared to him infinitely below its majestic dignity, united as it is, in that glorious state, with the divine essence. This notion of Schwenkfeldt, bears a remarkable affinity to the doctrine of Eutyches, which, however, he professed to reject; and, in his turn, accused those of Nestorianism, who gave the denomination of a *creature* to the human nature of Christ.

The Antinomians.

XXV. An intemperate zeal, by straining too far certain truths, turns them into falsehood, or, at least, often renders them the occasion of the most pernicious abuses. A striking instance of this happened during the ministry of Luther. For, while he was insisting upon the necessity of imprinting deeply in the minds of the people that doctrine of the gospel, which represents Christ's merits as the source of man's salvation, and while he was eagerly employed in censuring and refuting the popish doctors, who mixed the *law* and *gospel* together, and represented eternal happiness as the fruit of legal obedience, a fanatic arose, who abused his doctrine, by over-straining it, and thus opened a field for the most dangerous errors. This new teacher was John Agricola, a native of

of *Aisleben*, and an eminent doctor of the Lutheran church, though chargeable with vanity, presumption and artifice. He first began to make a noise in the year 1538, when from the doctrine of Luther now mentioned, he took occasion to declaim against the *law*, maintaining, that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a means of instruction; and that the gospel alone was to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of Agricolo were called *Antinomians*, i. e. *enemies of the law*. But the fortitude, vigilance and credit of Luther suppressed this sect in its very infancy, and Agricolo, intimidated by the opposition of such a respectable adversary, acknowledged and renounced his pernicious system. But this recantation does not seem to have been sincere; since it is said, that when his fears were dispelled by the death of Luther, he returned to his errors, and gained proselytes to his extravagant doctrine [*o*].

The doctrine of Agricola examined.

XXVI. The tenets of the *Antinomians*, if their adversaries are to be believed, were of the most noxious nature and tendency; for they are supposed to have taught the loosest and most dissolute doctrine in point of morals, and to have maintained that it was allowable to follow the impulse of every passion, and to transgress without reluctance, the divine law, provided the transgressor laid hold on Christ, and embraced his merits by a lively faith. Such, at least, is the representation that is generally given of their doctrine; but it ought not to be received with too much credulity. For whoever looks into this

[*o*] See Caspar. Sagittarius *Introduct. ad Histor. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 838.—Bayle *Dictionnaire,* tom. ii. at the article Islebius.—Conr. Schlusselburgii *Catalog. Hæret.* lib. iv.—*G.* Arnold *Kirchen und Ketzer Histoire,* p. 813.

matter with attention and impartiality, will soon be persuaded, that such an absurd and impious doctrine is unjustly laid to the charge of Agricola, and that the principal fault of this presumptuous man lay in some harsh and inaccurate expressions, that were susceptible of dangerous and pernicious interpretations. By the term *law*, he understood the *Ten Commandments*, promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation; and he considered this law as enacted for the Jews, and not for Christians. He explained at the same time, the term *Gospel* (which he considered as substituted in the place of the law) in its true and extensive sense, as comprehending not only the doctrine of the merits of Christ rendered salutary by faith, but also the sublime precepts of holiness and virtue, delivered by the divine Saviour, as rules of obedience. If, therefore, we follow the intention of Agricola, without interpreting, in a rigorous manner, the uncouth phrases and improper expressions he so frequently and so injudiciously employed, his doctrine will plainly amount to this: "That the *Ten Commandments*, published during "the ministry of Moses, were chiefly designed "for the Jews, and on that account might be "lawfully neglected and laid aside by Christians; "and that it was sufficient to explain with "perspicuity, and to enforce with zeal, what "Christ and his apostles had taught in the "New Testament, both with respect to the "means of grace, and salvation, and the obligations of repentance and virtue." The greatest part of the doctors of this century are chargeable with a want of precision and consistency in expressing their sentiments; hence their real sentiments have been misunderstood, and opinions have been imputed to them which they never entertained.

The

The Second Period.

Debates that arose during the second period of the Lutheran church between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon.

XXVII. After the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, Philip Melancthon was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors. The merit, genius, and talents of this new chief were, undoubtedly, great and illustrious; though it must at the same time, be confessed, that he was inferior to Luther in many respects [*p*], and more especially in courage, stedfastness, and personal authority. His natural temper was soft and flexible; his love of peace almost excessive, and his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit. He was ambitious of the esteem and friendship of all with whom he had any intercourse, and was absolutely incapable of employing the force of threatenings, or the restraints of fear, to suppress the efforts of religious faction, to keep within due bounds the irregular love of novelty and change, and to secure to the church the obedience of its members. It is also to be observed, that Melancthon's sentiments, on some points of no inconsiderable moment, were entirely different from those of Luther; and it may not be improper to point out the principal subjects on which they adopted different ways of thinking.

In the *first* place, Melancthon was of opinion, that, for the sake of peace and concord, many

☞ [*p*] It would certainly be very difficult to point out the *many respects* in which Dr. Mosheim affirms that Luther was superior to Melancthon. For if the single article of courage, and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no other respect in which Melancthon is not superior, or at least equal, to Luther. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.

things might be connived at and tolerated in the church of Rome, which Luther considered as absolutely insupportable. The former carried so far the spirit of toleration and indulgence, as to discover no reluctance against retaining the ancient form of ecclesiastical government, and submitting to the dominion of the Roman pontiff, on certain conditions, and in such a manner, as might be without prejudice to the obligation and authority of all those truths that are clearly revealed in the holy scriptures.

A *second* occasion of a diversity of sentiments between these two great men was furnished by the tenets which Luther maintained in opposition to the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. Such were his ideas concerning faith, as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of good works to our final happiness, and man's natural incapacity of promoting his own conversion. In avoiding the corrupt notions which were embraced by the Roman Catholic doctors on these important points of theology, Luther seemed, in the judgment of Melancthon, to lean too much towards the opposite extreme [*q*]. Hence the latter inclined to think, that the sentiments and expressions of his colleague required to be somewhat mitigated, lest they should give a handle to dangerous abuses, and be perverted to the propagation of pernicious errors.

It may be observed, *thirdly*, that though Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation

☞ [*q*] It is certain, that Luther carried the doctrine of *Justification by Faith* to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the *conditions* or *means* of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it.

relation to the eucharist [*r*], yet he did not consider their controversy with the divines of *Switzerland* on that subject, as a matter of sufficient moment to occasion a breach of church communion and fraternal concord between the contending parties. He thought that this happy concord might be easily preserved by expressing the doctrine of the eucharist, and Christ's presence in that ordinance in general and ambiguous terms, which the two churches might explain according to their respective systems.

Such were the sentiments of Melancthon, which, though he did not entirely conceal during the life of Luther, he delivered, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his Colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed, than he inculcated with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted at with timorousness and cau-

☞ [*r*] It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim affirming that Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist, when the contrary is well known. It is true, in the writings of Melancthon, which were published before the year 1529, or 1530, there are passages, which shew that he had not, as yet, thoroughly examined the controversy relating to the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. It is also true, that during the disputes carried on between Westphal and Calvin, after the death of Luther, concerning the *real presence,* he did not declare himself in an open manner for either side (which however is a presumptive proof of his leaning to that of Calvin), but expressed his sorrow at these divisions, and the spirit of animosity by which they were inflamed. But whoever will be at the pains to read the letters of Melancthon to Calvin upon this subject, or those extracts of them that are collected by Hospinian, in the second volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria,* p. 428. will be persuaded that he looked upon the doctrine of *Consubstantiation* not only as erroneous but even as idolatrous; and that nothing but the fear of inflaming the present divisions, and of not being seconded, prevented him from declaring his sentiments openly. See also *Dictionnaire de Bayle, art.* Melancthon note, L.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

tion. The eminent rank Melancthon held among the Lutheran doctors rendered this bold manner of proceeding extremely disagreeable to many. His doctrine accordingly was censured and opposed; and thus the church was deprived of the tranquillity it had enjoyed under Luther, and exhibited an unhappy scene of animosity, contention, and discord.

The adiaphoristic controversy, or the dispute concerning matters of an indifferent nature.

XXVIII. The rise of these unhappy divisions must be dated from the year 1548, when Charles V. attempted to impose upon the Germans the famous edict, called the *Interim.* Maurice, the new elector of *Saxony,* desirous to know how far such an edict ought to be respected in his dominions, assembled the doctors of *Wittemberg* and *Leipsic* in the last mentioned city, and proposed this nice and critical subject to their serious examination. Upon this occasion Melancthon, complying with the suggestions of that lenity and moderation that were the great and leading principles in the whole course of his conduct and actions, declared it as his opinion, that, in matters of an *indifferent* nature, compliance was due to the imperial edicts [*s*]. But in the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and could not, of consequence, be considered as indifferent by his true disciples [*t*]. For he regarded as

[*s*] The piece in which Melancthon and his associates delivered their sentiments relating to things indifferent, is commonly called in the German language, *Das Leipziger Interim,* and was republished at Leipsic in 1721, by Biekius, in a work entitled, *Das dreyfache Interim.*

☞ [*t*] If they only are the true disciples of Luther, who submit to his judgment, and adopt his sentiments in theological matters, many doctors of that communion, and our historian among the rest, must certainly be supposed to have forfeited that title, as will abundantly appear hereafter. Be that as it may, Melancthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing

as such, the doctrine of *justification by faith alone;* the *necessity of good works to eternal salvation;* the *number of the sacraments;* the *jurisdiction* claimed by the *pope and the bishops; extreme unction;* the observation of certain religious festivals, and several superstitious rites and cerèmonies. Hence arose that violent scene of contention and discord, that was commonly called the *Adiaphoristic* [*u*] controversy, which divided the church during many years, and proved highly detrimental to the progress of the Reformation. The defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at their head, attacked with incredible bitterness and fury the doctors of *Wittemberg* and *Leipsic*, and particularly Melancthon, by whose counsel and influence every thing relating to the *Interim* had been conducted, and accused them of apostasy from the true religion. Melancthon, on the other hand, seconded by the zeal of his friends and disciples, justified his conduct with the utmost spirit and vigour [*w*]. In this unlucky debate the two following questions were principally discussed: First, *whether the matter that seemed indifferent to* Melancthon *were so in reality?* This his adversaries obstinately denied [*x*]. Secondly, *whether, in things of an indifferent nature, and in which the interests of religion*

placing in the class of things indifferent the doctrines relating to faith and good works, which are the fundamental points of the Christian religion, and, if I may use such an expression, the very *hinges* on which the gospel turns.

☞ [*u*] This controversy was called *Adiaphoristick;* and Melancthon and his followers *Adiaphorists,* from the Greek word ἀδιωφορος, which signifies *indifferent.*

[*w*] Schlussenburgi *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. xiii.—Arnold's German work, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie,* lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. p. 816.—Salig. *Histor. Aug. Confess.* vol. i. p. 611.—The German work, entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten,* A. 1702, p. 339. 393.—Luc. Osiandri *Epitome Histor. Eccles. Centur.* xvi. p. 502.

[*x*] ☞ See above, note [*l*].

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

are not essentially concerned, it be lawful to yield to the enemies of the truth?

A controversy set on foot by George Major, concerning the necessity of good works.

XXIX. This debate concerning things *indifferent* became, as might well have been expected, a fruitful source of other controversies, which were equally detrimental to the tranquillity of the church, and to the cause of the Reformation. The first to which it gave rise was the warm dispute concerning the *necessity of good works*, that was carried on with such spirit against the rigid Lutherans, by George Major, an eminent teacher of theology at *Wittemberg*. Melancthon had long been of opinion, that the *necessity of good works, in order to the attainment of everlasting salvation*, might be asserted and taught, as conformable to the truths revealed in the gospel, and both he and his colleagues declared this to be their opinion, when they were assembled at *Leipsic*, in the year 1548, to examine the famous edict already mentioned [*y*]. This declaration was severely censured by the rigid disciples of Luther, as contrary to the doctrine and sentiments of their chief, and as conformable both to the tenets and interests of the church of *Rome;* but it found an able defender in Major, who, in the year 1552, maintained the *necessity of good works* against the extravagant assertions of Amsdorf. Hence arose a new controversy between the *rigid* and *moderate* Lutherans, which was carried on with that keenness and animosity, that were peculiar to all debates of a religious nature, during this century. In the course of this warm debate, Amsdorf was so far transported and infatuated by his excessive zeal for the doctrine of Luther, as to maintain, that *good works were an impediment to salvation;* from which imprudent and odious expression the flame of controversy received new fuel, and broke forth

[*y*] The *Interim* of Charles V.

forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, Major complained of the malice or ignorance of his adversaries, who explained his doctrine in a manner quite different from that in which he intended it should be understood; and, at length, he renounced it entirely, that he might not appear fond of wrangling, or be looked upon as a disturber of the peace of the church. This step did not, however, put an end to the debate, which was still carried on, until it was terminated at last by the *Form of Concord* [z].

The synergistical controversy.

XXX. From the same source that produced the dispute concerning the necessity of good works, arose the *synergistical* controversy. The *Synergists* [a], whose doctrine was almost the same with that of the Semi-Pelagians, denied that God was the *only* agent in the conversion of sinful man; and affirmed, that man *co-operated* with divine grace in the accomplishment of this salutary purpose. Here also Melancthon renounced the doctrine of Luther; at least, the terms he employs in expressing his sentiments concerning this intricate subject, are such as Luther would have rejected with horror; for in the conference at *Leipsic* already mentioned, the former of these great men did not scruple to affirm, that "God drew to himself and converted adult persons in such a manner, that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will." The friends and disciples of Melancthon adopted this manner of speaking, and used the expressions of

[z] Schlussenburg, lib. vii. *Catal. Hæreticor.*—Arnoldi *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. p. 822.—Jo. Musæi *Prælection. in Form. Concord.* p. 181.—Arn. Grevii *Memoria* Joh. Westphalia, p. 166.

☞ [a] As this controversy turned upon the *co-operation* of the human will with the divine grace, the persons who maintained this joint agency, were called *Synergists*, from a Greek word (συεργεια), which signifies *co-operation*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

of their master to describe the nature of the divine agency in man's conversion. But this representation of the matter was far from being agreeable to the rigid Lutherans. They looked upon it as subversive of the true and genuine doctrine of Luther, relating to the *absolute servitude* of the human will [*b*], and the total *inability of* man to do any good action, or to bear any part in his own conversion; and hence they opposed the *Synergists*, or Semi-pelagians, with the utmost animosity and bitterness. The principal champions in this theological conflict were Sirigelius, who defended the sentiments of Melancthon with singular dexterity and perspicuity, and Flacius, who maintained the ancient doctrine of Luther: of these doctors, as also the subject of their debate, a farther account will be given presently [*c*].

Flacius, by his intemperate zeal, excites many divisions in the church.

XXXI. During these dissensions, a new academy was founded at *Jena* by the dukes of *Saxe-Weimar*, the sons of the famous John Frederick, whose unsuccessful wars with the emperor Charles V. had involved him in so many calamities, and deprived him of his electorial dominions. The noble founders of this academy, having designed it for the bulwark of the protestant religion, as it was taught and inculcated by Luther, were particularly careful in choosing such professors and divines as were remarkable for their attachment to

☞ [*b*] The doctrines of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and human importance, were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther. But in these times he has very few followers in this respect, even among those that bear his name. But of this more hereafter.

[*c*] See Schlussenburg *Catal. Hæreticor.* lib. v. G. Arnold *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 826.—Bayle *Dictionnaire,* at the article *Synergistes.*—Salig. *Histor. Augus. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 474. 587. 880.—Musæi *Prælict. in Formulam Concordiæ,* p. 88.

to the genuine doctrine of that great reformer, and their aversion to the sentiments of those moderate Lutherans, who had attempted by certain modifications and corrections, to render it less harsh and disgusting. And as none of the Lutheran doctors were so eminent on account of their uncharitable and intemperate zeal for this ancient doctrine, as Matthew Flacius, the virulent enemy of Melancthon, and all the *Philippists*, he was appointed in the year 1557, professor of divinity at *Jena*. The consequences of this nomination were, indeed, deplorable. For this turbulent and impetuous man, whom nature had formed with an uncommon propensity to foment divisions and propagate discord, did not only revive all the ancient controversies that had distracted the church, but also excited new debates; and sowed, with such avidity and success, the seeds of contention between the divines of *Weimar* and those of the electorate of *Saxony*, that a fatal schism in the Lutheran church was apprehended by many of its wisest members [*d*]. And indeed this schism would have been inevitable, if the machinations, and intrigues of Flacius had produced the desired effect. For, in the year 1559, he persuaded the dukes of *Saxe-Weimar* to order a *refutation* of the errors that had crept into the Lutheran church, and particularly of those that were imputed to the followers of Melancthon, to be drawn up with care, to be promulgated by authority, and to be placed among the other religious edicts and articles of faith that were in force in their dominions. But this pernicious design of dividing the church proved abortive; for the other Lutheran princes, who acted from the true and

[*d*] See the famous letter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, concerning Flacius and his malignant attempts, which is published by Arn. Grevius in his *Memoria Joh. Westphalia*, p. 393.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

and genuine principles of the Reformation, disapproved of this seditious book from a just apprehension of its tendency to increase the present troubles, and to augment, instead of diminishing, the calamities of the church [*e*].

The contest between Flacius and Strigelius.

XXXII. This theological incendiary kindled the flame of discord and persecution even in the church of *Saxe-Weimar*, and in the university of *Jena*, to which he belonged, by venting his fury against Strigelius [*f*], the friend and disciple of Melancthon. This moderate divine adopted, in many things, the sentiments of his master, and maintained, particularly, in his public lectures, that the *human will*, when under the influence of the *divine grace* leading it to repentance, was not totally *unactive*, but bore a certain part in the salutary work of its conversion. In consequence of this doctrine, he was accused by Flacius of *Synergism* at the court of *Saxe-Weimar;* and by the order of the prince was cast into prison, where he was treated with severity and rigour. He was at length delivered from this confinement in the year 1562, and allowed to resume his former vocation, in consequence of a declaration of his real sentiments, which, as he alleged, had been greatly misrepresented. This declaration, however, did not either decide or terminate the controversy; since Strigelius seemed rather to conceal his erroneous sentiments [*g*] under ambiguous expressions, than to renounce them entirely. And indeed he was so conscious of this himself, that to avoid being involved in new calamities and perse-

[*e*] Salig. *Historia. August. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 476.

[*f*] See the writers cited in the preceding notes; and also Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Strigelius*.

☞ [*g*] The sentiments of Strigelius were not, I have reason to believe, very *erroneous* in the judgment of Dr. Mosheim, nor are they such in the estimation of the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors at this day.

persecutions, he retired from *Jena* to *Leipsic*, and from *Leipsic* to *Heidelberg*, where he spent the remainder of his days; and appeared so unsettled in his religious opinions, that it is really doubtful whether he is to be placed among the followers of Luther or Calvin.

Some particulars of the dispute carried on by Flacius of Saxe-Weimar.

XXXIII. The issue, however, of this controversy, which Flacius had kindled with such an intemperate zeal, proved highly detrimental to his own reputation and influence in particular, as well as to the interests of the Lutheran church in general. For while this vehement disputant was assailing his adversary with an inconsiderate ardour, he exaggerated so excessively the sentiments, which he looked upon as orthodox, as to maintain an opinion of the most monstrous and detestable kind; an opinion which made him appear, even in the judgment of his warmest friends, an odious heretic, and a corrupter of the true religion. In the year 1560, a public dispute was held at *Weimar*, between him and Strigelius, concerning the natural powers and faculties of the human mind, and their influence in the conversion and conduct of the true Christian. In this conference the latter seemed to attribute to unassisted nature too much, and the former too little. The one looked upon the fall of man as an event that extinguished in the human mind, every virtuous tendency, every noble faculty, and left nothing behind it but universal darkness and corruption. The other maintained, that this degradation of the powers of nature was by no means universal or entire; that the will retained still some propensity to worthy pursuits, and a certain degree of activity that rendered it capable of attainments in virtue. Strigelius, who was well acquainted with the wiles of a captious philosophy, proposed to defeat his adversary by puzzling him, and addressed to him with that view, the following question:

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

question; "Whether original sin, or the corrupt habit which the human soul contracted by the fall, is to be placed in the class of *substances* or *accidents?*" Flacius answered with unparalleled imprudence and temerity, that it belonged to the former; and maintained, to his dying hour, this most extravagant and dangerous proposition, that *original sin is the very substance of human nature.* Nay, so invincible was the obstinacy with which he persevered in this strange doctrine, that he chose to renounce all worldly honours and advantages rather than depart from it. It was condemned by the greatest and soundest part of the Lutheran church, as a doctrine that bore no small affinity to that of the Manichæans. But, on the other hand, the merit, erudition, and credit of Flacius procured him many respectable patrons and able defenders among the most learned doctors of the church, who embraced his sentiments, and maintained his cause with the greatest spirit and zeal; of whom the most eminent were Cyriac Spangenberg, Christopher Irenæus, and Cælestine [*h*].

The consequences that arose from the imprudence of Flacius.

XXXIV. It is scarcely possible to imagine how much the Lutheran church suffered from this new dispute in all those places where its contagion had reached, and how detrimental it was to the progress of Lutheranism, among those who still adhered to the religion of Rome. For the flame of discord spread far and wide; it was communicated even to those churches which were erected in

[*h*] Schlussenburg. *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. ii.—The Life of Flacius, written in German by Ritter, and published in 8vo at Franckfort, in the year 1725.—Salig. *Histor. Aug. Confession,* vol. iii. p. 593.—Arnoldi *Histor. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxix. p. 829.—Musæi *Prælect. in Formul. Concordiæ,* p. 29. —Jo. Georgii Leuckfeldii *Historia Spangenbergensis.*—For a particular account of the dispute, that was held publicly at *Weimar,* see the German work entitled, *Unschuld Nachricht,* p. 383.

in popish countries, and particularly in the Austrian territories, under the gloomy shade of a dubious toleration; and it so animated the Lutheran pastors, though surrounded on all sides by their cruel adversaries, that they could neither be restrained by the dictates of prudence, nor by the sense of danger [*i*]. Many are of opinion, that an ignorance of philosophical distinctions and definitions threw Flacius inconsiderately into the extravagant hypothesis he maintained with such obstinacy, and that his greatest heresy was no more than a foolish attachment to an unusual term. But Flacius seems to have fully refuted this plea in his behalf, by declaring boldly, in several parts of his writings, that he knew perfectly well the philosophical signification and the whole energy of the word *substance*, and was by no means ignorant of the consequences that would be drawn from the doctrine he had embraced [*k*]. Be that as it may, we cannot but wonder at the senseless and excessive obstinacy of this turbulent man, who chose rather to sacrifice his fortune, and disturb the tranquillity of the church, than to abandon a word, which was entirely foreign to the subject in debate, and renounce an hypothesis, that was composed of the most palpable contradictions.

XXXV. The

[*i*] See a German work of Bern. Raupach, entitled, *Zwiefache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch. Oesterrich.* p. 25. 29. 32. 34. 43. 64. The same author speaks of the friends of Flacius in *Austria;* and particularly of Irenæus, in his *Presbyterol. Austriace,* p. 69.—For an account of Cælestine, see the German work mentioned at the end of the preceding note.

[*k*] This will appear evident to such as will be at the pains to consult the letters which Westphal wrote to his friend Flacius, in order to persuade him to abstain from the use of the word *substance,* with the answers of the latter. These *Letters* and Answers are published by Arnold Grevius, in his *Memoria* Jo. Westphali, p. 186.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The disputes kindled by Osiander.

XXXV. The last controversy that we shall mention, of those that were occasioned by the excessive lenity of Melancthon, was set on foot by Osiander, in the year 1549, and produced much discord and animosity in the church. Had its first founder been yet alive, his influence and authority would have suppressed in their birth these wretched disputes; nor would Osiander, who despised the moderation of Melancthon, have dared either to publish or defend his crude and chimerical opinions within the reach of Luther. Arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character; he loved to strike out new notions; but his views seemed always involved in an intricate obscurity. The disputes that arose concerning the *Interim*, induced him to retire from *Nuremberg*, where he had exercised the pastoral charge, to *Konigsberg*, where he was chosen professor of divinity. In this new station he begun his academical functions by propagating notions concerning the *Divine Image*, and the nature of *Repentance*, very different from the doctrine that Luther had taught on these interesting subjects; and not contented with this deviation from the common tract, he thought proper, in the year 1550, to introduce considerable alterations and corrections into the doctrine that had been generally received in the Lutheran church, with respect to the means of our *justification* before God. When we examine his discussion of this important point, we shall find it much more easy to perceive the opinions he rejected, than to understand the system he had invented or adopted; for, as was but too usual in this age, he not only expressed his notions in an obscure manner, but seemed moreover perpetually in contradiction with himself. His doctrine, however, when carefully examined, will appear to amount to the following propositions: "Christ

"considered

" considered in his *human nature only*, could not, " by his obedience to the divine law, obtain " *justification* and pardon for sinners; neither can " we be *justified* before God by embracing and " applying to ourselves, through faith, the *righ-* " *teousness*, and obedience of the *man* Christ. It " is only through that eternal and *essential righ-* " *teousness*, which dwells in Christ *considered as* " *God*, and which resides in his divine nature, " that is united to the human, that mankind can " obtain complete *justification*. Man becomes a " partaker of this *divine righteousness* by faith; " since it is in consequence of this uniting prin- " ciple that Christ dwells in the heart of man, " with his divine righteousness; now, wherever " this divine righteousness dwells, *there* God " can behold no sin, and therefore, when it is " present with Christ in the hearts of the *regener-* " *ate*, they are, on its account, considered by the " Deity as *righteous*, although they be sinners. " Moreover, this *divine and justifying righteous-* " *ness* of Christ, excites the faithful to the pursuit " of holiness, and to the practice of virtue." This doctrine was zealously opposed by the most eminent doctors of the Lutheran church, and in a more especial manner, by Melancthon and his colleagues. On the other hand, Osiander and his sentiments were supported by persons of considerable weight. But, upon the death of this rigid and fanciful divine, the flame of controversy was cooled, and dwindled by degrees into nothing [*l*].

XXXVI. The

[*l*] See Schlusselburgi *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. vi.—Arnoldi *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxiv. p. 804.—Christ. Hartknoch. *Preussische Kirchen Histoire*, p. 309.—Salig. *Historia August. Confession*, tom. ii. p. 922. The judgment that was formed of this controversy by the divines of Wittemberg, may be seen in the German work entitled, *Unschuldige Nachrichten*,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The debates excited by Stancarus.

XXXVI. The doctrine of Osiander, concerning the method of being justified before God, appeared so absurd to Stancarus, professor of Hebrew at *Konigsberg*, that he undertook to refute it. But while this turbulent and impetuous doctor was exerting all the vehemence of his zeal against the opinion of his colleague, he was hurried by his violence, into the opposite extreme, and fell into an hypothesis, that appeared equally groundless, and not less dangerous in its tendency and consequences. Osiander had maintained that the man Christ, in his character of moral agent, was obliged to obey, for *himself*, the divine law, and therefore could not, by the imputation of this obedience, obtain *righteousness* or justification for *others*. From hence he concluded, that the Saviour of the world had been empowered, not by his character as *man*, but by his nature as *God*, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the favour of an offended Deity. Stancarus, on the other hand, excluded entirely Christ's divine nature from all concern in the *satisfaction* he made, and in the *redemption* he procured for offending mortals, and maintained, that the sacred office of a mediator between God and man belonged to Jesus, considered in his human nature alone. Having perceived, however, that this doctrine exposed him to the enmity of many divines, and even rendered him the object of popular resentment and indignation, he retired from *Konigsberg* into *Germany*, and from thence into *Poland*,

Nachrichten, p. 141. and that of the doctors of Copenhagen, in *der Danischen Bibliothec.* part vii. p. 150. where there is an ample list of the writings published on this subject.—To form a just idea of the insolence and arrogance of Osiander, those who understand the German language will do well to consult Hischius, *Nuremberg Interims-Historie*, p. 44. 59, 60, &c.

Poland, where he excited no small commotions [*m*], and where also he concluded his days in the year 1574 [*n*].

XXXVII. All those who had the cause of virtue, and the advancement of the Reformation really at heart, looked with an impatient ardour for an end to these bitter and uncharitable contentions; and their desires of peace and concord in the church were still increased, by their perceiving the industrious assiduity with which *Rome* turned these unhappy divisions to the advancement of her interests. But during the life of Melancthon, who was principally concerned in these warm debates, no effectual method could be found to bring them to a conclusion. The death of this great man, which happened in the year 1560, changed, indeed, the face of things, and enabled those who were disposed to terminate the present contests, to act with more resolution,

The methods that were employed to heal these divisions.

[*m*] See a German work of Chr. Hartknoch, entitled, *Preussische Kirken geschichte*, p. 340.—Schlusselburgi *Catalog. Hæreticor.*—lib. ix. *Dictionnaire du* Bayle, at the article *Stancarus.*—Before the arrival of Stancarus at Konigsberg, in the year 1548, he had lived for some time in Switzerland, where also he had occasioned religious disputes; for he adopted several doctrines of Luther, particularly that concerning the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, which were rejected by the Swiss and Grisons. See the *Musæum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484, 490, 491. For an account of the disturbances he occasioned in Poland, in 1556, see Bullinger, in Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria* I. *Epistolar. à Reformator. Helvetic. scriptor.* p. 371. 459.

[*n*] The main argument alleged by Stancarus, in favour of his hypothesis, was this, that, if Christ was mediator by his divine nature only, then it followed evidently, that even considered as God, he was inferior to the Father; and thus, according to him, the doctrine of his adversary Osiander led directly to the Unitarian system. This difficulty, which was presented with great subtilty, engaged many to strike into a middle road, and to maintain, that both the divine and human natures of Christ were immediately concerned in the work of Redemption.

tion, and a surer prospect of success, than had accompanied their former efforts. Hence it was that after several vain attempts, Augustus, elector of *Saxony*, and John William, duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at *Altenburg*, in the year 1568, and there to propose, in an amicable manner, and with a charitable spirit, their respective opinions, that thus it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible, and what was the most probable method of bringing it about. But the intemperate zeal and warmth of the disputants, with other unlucky circumstances, blasted the fruits that were expected from this *conference* [o]. Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran church was therefore proposed; and this was, that a certain number of wise and moderate divines should be employed in composing a *Form* of doctrine, in which all the controversies that divided the church, should be terminated and decided; and that this new compilation, as soon as it was approved of by the Lutheran princes and consistories, should be clothed with ecclesiastical authority, and added to the *symbolical* [p], our standard books of the Lutheran church. James Andræ, professor at *Tubingen*, whose theological abilities had procured him the most eminent and shining reputation, had been employed so early as the year 1569, in this critical and difficult undertaking, by the special command of the dukes of *Wittemberg* and *Brunswick*. The elector of *Saxony* [q], with several persons of distinction, embarked with these two princes in the project they

[n] Casp. Sagittarii *Introductio ad Hist. Ecclesiasticam.* part II. p. 1542.

☞ [p] The Lutherans call *symbolical* (from a Greek word that signifies *collection*, or *compilation*,) the books which contain their articles of faith, and rules of discipline.

[q] Augustus.

they had formed; so that Andreæ, under the shade of such a powerful protection and patronage, exerted all his zeal, travelled through different parts of *Germany*, negociated alternately with courts and synods, and took all the measures which prudence could suggest, in order to render the *Form*, that he was composing, universally acceptable.

The Saxon Crypto-Calvinists, or secret favourers of Calvinism.

XXXVIII. The persons embarked in this new and critical design, were persuaded that no time ought to be lost in bringing it into execution, when they perceived the imprudence and temerity of the disciples of Melancthon, and the changes they were attempting to introduce into the doctrine of the church. For his son-in-law, Peucer [*r*], who was a physician and professor of natural philosophy at *Wittemberg*, together with the divines of *Wittemberg*, and *Leipsic*, encouraged by the approbation, and relying on the credit, of Cracovius, chancellor of *Dresden*, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction at the Saxon court, aimed at nothing less than abolishing the doctrine of Luther, concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ, with a design to substitute the sentiments of Calvin in its place. This new

☞ [*r*] This Peucer, whom Dr. Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings abundantly testify. Nor was he more remarkable for his merit than for his sufferings: After his genius and virtues had rendered him the favourite of the elector of Saxony, and placed him at the head of the university of Wittemberg, he felt, in a terrible manner, the effects of the bigotry and barbarity of the rigid Lutherans, who, on account of his denying the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, united, with success, their efforts to deprive him of the favour of his sovereign, and procured his imprisonment. His confinement, which lasted ten years, was accompanied with all possible circumstances of severity. See Melchior. Adam, *Vit. Medicor. Germanor.*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

reformation was attempted in *Saxony* in the year 1570, and a great variety of clandestine arts and stratagems were employed, in order to bring it to a happy and successful issue. What the sentiments of Melancthon concerning the eucharist were towards the conclusion of his days, appears to be extremely doubtful. It is however certain, that he had a strong inclination to form a coalition between the Saxons and Calvinists, though he was prevented, by the irresolution and timidity of his natural character, from attempting openly this much desired union. Peucer, and the other disciples of Melancthon already mentioned, made a public profession of the doctrine of Calvin: and though they had much more spirit and courage than their soft and yielding master, yet they wanted *his* circumspection and prudence, which were not less necessary to the accomplishment of their designs. Accordingly, in the year 1571, they published in the German language, a work entitled, *Stercoma* [*s*], and other writings, in which they openly declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the *eucharist* and the *Person of Christ* [*t*]; and that

☞ [*s*] A term which signifies *foundation.*

☞ [*t*] The learned historian seems to deviate here from his usual accuracy. The authors of the book entitled *Stereoma,* did not declare their dissent from the doctrine of Luther, but from the extravagant inventions of some of his successors. This great man in his controversy with Zuingle had indeed thrown out some unguarded expressions, that seemed to imply a belief of the *omnipresence* of the body of Christ: but he became sensible afterwards that this opinion was attended with great difficulties, and particularly, that it ought not to be made use of as a *proof of Christ's corporal presence in the eucharist* *. But this absurd hypothesis was renewed after the death of Luther, by Tinman and Westphal, and was dressed up in a still more specious

* See Lutheri opp. tom. viii. p. 375. Edit. Janiens.

that they might execute their purposes with greater facility, introduced into the schools a Catechism, compiled by Pezelius, which was favourable to the sentiments of Calvin. As this bold step excited great commotions and debates in the church, Augustus held at *Dresden*, in the year 1571, a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines, and of all other persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and commanded them to adopt *his* opinion in relation to the eucharist [*u*]. The assembled doctors complied with this order in appearance; but their

specious and plausible form, by Brentius, Chemnitz, and Andreæ, who maintained *the communication of the properties of Christ's divinity to his human nature*, in the manner that it was afterwards adopted by the Lutheran church. This strange system gave occasion to the book intitled *Stereoma*, in which the doctrine of Luther was respected, and the inventions alone of his successors renounced, and in which the authors declared plainly, that they did not adopt the sentiments of Zuingle or Calvin; nay, that they admitted the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist.

☞ [*u*] In this passage, compared with what follows, Dr. Mosheim seems to maintain, that the opinion of Augustus, which he imposed upon the assembled divines, was in favour of the adversaries of Melancthon, and in direct opposition to the authors of the *Stereoma*. But here he has committed a palpable oversight. The convocation of Dresden, in the year 1571, instead of approving or maintaining the doctrine of the rigid Lutherans, drew up, on the contrary, a form of agreement *(formula consensus)* in which the omnipresence, or *ubiquity* of Christ's body was denied, and which was, indeed, an abridgment of the book entitled *Stercoma*. So that the transactions at Dresden were entirely favourable to the moderate Lutherans, who embraced openly and sincerely, (and not by a feigned consent *(subdole)* as our historian remarks) the sentiment of the elector Augustus, who at that time patronized the disciples of Melancthon. This prince, it is true, seduced by the crafty and artful insinuations of the *Ubiquitarians*, or rigid Lutherans, who made him believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, changed sides soon after, and was pushed on to the most violent and persecuting measures, of which the convocation of Torgaw was the first step, and the *Form of Concord* the unhappy issue.

compliance was feigned [*w*]; for, on their return to the places of their abode, they resumed their original design, pursued it with assiduity and zeal, and by their writings, as also by their public and private instructions, endeavoured to abolish the ancient doctrine of the Saxons, relating to the presence of Christ's body in that holy sacrament. The Elector, informed of these proceedings, convened anew the Saxon doctors, and held, in the year 1574, the famous convocation of *Torgaw* [*x*], where, after a strict inquiry into the doctrines of those who, from their secret attachment to the sentiments of the Swiss divines, were called *Crypto-Calvinists* [*y*], he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number by the force of the secular arm to change their sentiments. Peucer, who had been principally concerned in moderating the rigour of some of Luther's doctrines, felt, in a more especial manner, the dreadful effects of the elector's severity: for he was confined to a hard prison, where he lay in the most affecting circumstances of distress until the year 1585, when, having obtained his liberty through the intercession of the prince of *Anhalt*, who had given his daughter in marriage to Augustus, he retired

☞ [*w*] The compliance was sincere, but the order was very different from that mentioned by our author, as appears from the preceding note.

☞ [*x*] It is to be observed that there were but fifteen of the Saxon doctors convened at Torgaw by the summons of the elector; a small number this to give law to the Lutheran church. For an account of the declaration drawn up by this assembly on the points relating to the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, the omnipresence of that body, and the oral manducation of the flesh and blood of the divine Saviour, see Hospiniani *Concordia Discors.* p. 39.

☞ [*y*] i. e. Hidden, or disguised Calvinists.

retired to *Zerbst*, where he ended his days in peace [z]. CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

XXXIX. The schemes of the *Crypto-Calvinists*, or secret abettors of Calvinism, being thus disconcerted, the elector of *Saxony*, and the other princes who had entered into his views, redoubled their zeal and diligence in promoting the *Form of Concord* that has been already mentioned. Accordingly, various conferences were held preparatory to this important undertaking; and, in the year 1576, while the Saxon divines were convened at *Torgaw* by the order of Augustus, a treatise was composed by James Andræ, with a design to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the *Reformed* doctors [a]. This production, which received the denomination of the *Book of Torgaw*, from the place where it was composed, having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected, by the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors in *Germany*, the matter was again proposed to the deliberations of a select number of divines, who met at *Berg*, a Benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood of *Magdeberg* [b]. Here all things relating The form of concord.

☞ [z] See Schlusselburgii *Theologia Calvinistica*, lib. ii. p. 207. lib. iii. *Præf.* & p. 1—22. 52—57. 69. lib. iv. p. 246. —Hutteri *Concordia Concors*, cap. i—viii.—Arnoldi *Histor. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxxii. p. 389—395.—Loscheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part II. p. 176. part III. p. 1.—All these are writers favourable to the rigid Lutherans; see therefore, on the other side, Casp. Peuceri *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*, which was published in 8vo, at Zurich, in the year 1605, by Pezelius.

☞ [a] The term *Reformed* was used to distinguish the other Protestants of various denominations from the Lutherans; and it is equally applied to the friends of episcopacy and presbytery. See the following chapter.

☞ [b] The book that was composed by Andræ and his associates at Torgaw, was sent, by the elector of Saxony, to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view of its being examined, approved, and received by them. It was, however, rejected

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

relating to the intended project were accurately weighed, the opinions of the assembled doctors carefully discussed, and the result of all was the famous *Form of Concord*, which has made so much noise in the world. The persons who assisted Andreæ in the composition of this celebrated work, or at least in the last perusal of it at *Berg*, were Martin Chemnitz, Nicolas Selneccer, Andrew Musculus, Christopher Cornerus, and David Chytræus [*c*]. This new confession of the Lutheran faith was adopted first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of Augustus; and their example was afterwards followed by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, by some sooner, by others later [*d*]. The authority of this confession,

rejected by several princes, and censured and refuted by several doctors. These censures engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and it was from this book, thus changed and new-modelled, that the *Form of Concord*, published at Berg, was entirely drawn.

☞ [*c*] The *Form of Concord*, composed at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, consists of two parts. In the *first* is contained a system of doctrine, drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors here mentioned. In the *second* is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that persecuting and tyrannical spirit, which the Protestants complained of in the church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all those who differed from these six doctors, particularly in their strange opinions concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ's body, and the real manducation of his flesh and blood in the eucharist. This condemnation branded with the denomination of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians, of all nations, who refused to subscribe these doctrines. More particularly in Germany, the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the famous testament of Brentius. For a full account of the *Confession* of Torgaw and Berg, see Hospinian's *Concordia discors*, where the reader will find large extracts out of this confession, with an ample account of the censures it underwent, the opposition that was made to it, and the arguments that were used by its learned adversaries.

[*d*] A list of the writers who have treated concerning the *Form of Concord*, may be found in Jo. George Walchii *Introduct.*

confession, as is sufficiently known, was employed for the two following purposes: *first*, to terminate the controversies which divided the Lutheran church, more especially after the death of its founder; and, *secondly*, to preserve that church against the opinions of the *Reformed*, in relation to the eucharist.

The Form of Concord produces much disturbance—

XL. It so fell out, however, that this very *Form*, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became, nevertheless, a source of new tumults, and furnished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with a warm opposition from the *Reformed*, and also from all those who were either secretly attached to their doctrine, or who, at least, were desirous of living in concord and communion with them, from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the Protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived that this *Form* removed all the flattering hopes they had entertained of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the *Reformed* from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new *Confession*

is opposed by the Reformed, or Calvinists.

troduct. in Libros Symbolicos, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 707. & Koecheri *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 188. There are also several documents in MSS. relative to this famous confession, of which there is an account in the German work entitled, *Unschuld Nachricht*, A. 1753. p. 322.—The principal writers who have given the history of the *Form of Concord*, and the transactions relating to it, are Hospinian, an eminent divine of Zurich, in his *Concordia Discors*; and Leon Hutter, in his *Concordia Concors*. These two historians have written on opposite sides, and whoever will be at the pains of comparing their accounts with attention and impartiality, will easily perceive where the truth lies, and receive satisfactory information with respect to the true state of these controversies, and the motives that animated the contending parties.

fession of Faith, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines [*e*], those of the Palatinate [*f*], together with the principalities of *Anhalt* and *Bade*, declared war against the *Form of Concord*. And accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new Creed and its compilers, in many laborious productions [*g*].

And even by the Lutherans themselves.

XLI. Nor were the followers of Zuingle and Calvin the only opposers of this *Form of Concord*; it found adversaries, even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments nor entreaties could engage them to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a mean of instruction. It was rejected by the churches of *Hessia*, *Pomerania*, *Nuremberg*, *Holstein*, *Silesia*, *Denmark*, *Brunswick*, and others [*h*]. But though they all united in

[*e*] See Petrii Vilerii *Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis dicti "Concordiæ."*—This work was published a second time, with the annotations of Lud. Gerhard a Renesse, by the learned Dr. Gerdes of Groningen, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium* seu *Miscellan. Groningens. Nov.* tom i. p. 121. Add to these the *Unschuld Nachricht.* A. 1747. p. 957.

[*f*] John Casimir, Prince Palatine, convoked an assembly of the reformed divines at Frankfort, in the year 1577, in order to annul and reject this *Form of Concord*. See Hen. Altingii *Histor. Eccles. Palatin.* sect. clxxix. p. 143.

[*g*] See Jo. Georg. Walchii *Introd. in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor.* lib. i. cap. vii. p. 734.

[*h*] For an account of the ill success the *Form of Concord* met with in the dutchy of Holstein, see the German work entitled, *Die Danische Bibliothec.* vol. iv. p. 212. vol. v. p. 355. vol. viii. p. 333—461. vol. ix. p. 1.—Muhlii *Dissert. Histor. Theol. Diss.* I. *de Reformat. Holsat.* p. 108.—Arn. Grevii *Memoria* Pauli ab Eitzen. The transactions in *Denmark*, in relation

in opposing it, their opposition was nevertheless, founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives and the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melancthon was, with some, the only, or at least the predominant motive that induced them to declare against the *Form* in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of *Holstein*. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for Melancthon, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions, condemned in the new Creed, were more conformable to truth, than those that were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving of the *Form* under consideration; the hopes of uniting the *Reformed* and *Lutheran* churches engaged many to declare against it: and a considerable number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that adding a new Creed to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It

relation to this Form, and the particular reasons for which it was rejected there, may be seen in the Danish Library above quoted, vol. iv. p. 222.—282. and also in Pontoppidan's *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici.* tom. iii. p. 456. This latter author evidently proves (p. 476.) a fact which Herman ab Elswich, and other authors, have endeavoured to rspresent as dubious, *viz.* that Frederick II. king of Denmark, as soon as he received a copy of the form in question, threw it into the fire, and saw it consumed before his eyes.—The opposition that was made by the Hessians to the same form, may be seen in Tielemanni *Vitæ Theologor. Marpurgens.* p. 99.—*Danischen Bibliothec.* vol. vii. p. 273—364. tom. ix. p. 1—87.—The ill fate of this famous Confession, in the principalities of Lignitz and Brieg, is amply related in the German work, entitled, *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. 1745. p. 173.

It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alleged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the *Form of Concord.*

The conduct of Julius, duke of Brunswick, in this matter.

XLII. This *Form* was patronized in a more especial manner by Julius, duke of *Brunswick*, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics, within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when the zealous prince changed his mind, suffered the *Form* to be publicly opposed by Heshusius, and other divines of his university of *Helmstadt*, and to be excluded from the number of the Creeds and Confessions that were received by his subjects. The reasons alleged by the Lutherans of *Brunswick*, in behalf of this step, were, 1*st*, That the *Form of Concord*, when printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy to which they had given their approbation; 2*dly*, That the doctrine relating to the *freedom* of the *human will* was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that Luther had employed in treating that subject: 3*dly*, That the *ubiquity*, or universal and *indefinite presence* of Christ's human nature, was therein positively maintained, notwithstanding that the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Besides these reasons for rejecting the *Form of Concord*, which were publicly avowed, others perhaps of a secret nature contributed to the remarkable change, which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of *Brunswick*. Various methods and negociations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince, and the divines that lived in his territories, had conceived

conceived against the Creed of *Berg*. Particularly in the year 1583, a convocation of divines, from *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Brunswick*, and the Palatinate, was held at *Quedlinburg* for this purpose. But Julius persisted stedfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the *Form of Concord* should be examined, and its authority discussed by a general assembly or synod of the Lutheran church [*i*].

The Cryptoabroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth. For even in *Saxony* many, who had been obliged to subscribe it, beheld it with aversion, in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of Melancthon. During the life of Augustus, they were forced to suppress their sentiments; but as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by Christian I. the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed, from his tender years to the moderate sentiments of Melancthon, and is also said to have discovered a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government, therefore, a fair opportunity was offered to the persons above-mentioned of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs. Nor was this opportunity neglected. The attempts to abolish the *Form of Concord* that had in time past proved unsuccessful, seemed again to be renewed, and that with a design to open

XLIII. This *Form* was not only opposed from

The Cryptoto Calvinists make new attempts to spread their doctrine.

[*i*] See Leon. Hutteri *Concordia Concors*, cap. xlv. p. 1051. —Phil. Jul. Richtmeyri *Braunschweig Kirchen Historie*, part III. cap. viii. p. 483.—See also the authors mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaffius, in his *Acta et. Scripta Ecclesiæ Wurtemberg*, p. 62. & *Histor. Literar. Theologiæ*, part II. p. 423. —For an account of the convocation of Quedlinburg, and the Acts that passed in that assembly. See the German work entitled, *Danishe Bibliothec.* part VIII. p. 595.

open a door for the entrance of Calvinism into *Saxony*. The persons who had embarked in this design, were greatly encouraged by the protection they received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and, particularly, from Crellius, the first minister of Christian. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons it was natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and some time after [*k*] the form of *exorcism* was omitted in the administration of baptism [*l*]. These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans; for not only a new German Cathechism, favourable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists, was industriously distributed among the people, but also a new edition of the Bible, in the same language, enriched with the observations of Henry Salmuth, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in the year 1591, published at *Dresden*. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the magistrates endeavoured to suppress, by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition

[*k*] In the year 1591.

☞ [*l*] The custom of *exorcising*, or casting out evil spirits, was used in the fourth century at the admission of Catechumens, and was afterwards absurdly applied in the baptism of infants. This application of it was retained by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches. It was indeed abolished by the elector, Christian I. but was restored after his death; and the opposition that had been made to it by Crellius, was the chief reason of his unhappy end. See Justi. H. Boehmeri *Jus. Ecclesiast. Protestant.* tom. iii. p. 843. *Ed. Secund. Halæ* 1727. As also a German work of Melchior Kraft, entitled, *Geschichet des Exorcismi*, p. 401.

sition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was, all of a sudden, overturned by the unexpected death of Christian, which happened in the year 1591. Then the face of affairs changed again, and assumed its former aspect. The doctors, who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project, were committed to prison, or sent into banishment, after the death of the elector; and its chief encourager and patron, Crellius, suffered death in the year 1601, as the fruit of his temerity [*m*].

The dispute set on foot by Huber.

XLIV. Towards the conclusion of this century, a new controversy was imprudently set on foot at *Wittemberg*, by Samuel Huber, a native of *Switzerland*, and professor of divinity in that university. The Calvinistical doctrine of absolute predestination and unconditional decrees was extremely offensive to this adventurous doctor, and even excited his warmest indignation. Accordingly he affirmed, and taught publicly, that all mankind were elected from eternity by the supreme Being to everlasting salvation, and accused his colleagues in particular, and the Lutheran divines in general, of a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin, on account of their asserting, that the divine election was confined to those, whose *faith, foreseen* by an omniscient God, rendered them the proper objects of his redeeming mercy. The opinion of Huber, as is now acknowledged by many learned men, differed more in *words* than in *reality*, from the doctrine of the Lutheran church; for he did no more than explain in a new method, and with a different turn of phrase,

[*m*] See the German work of Godf. Arnold, entitled, *Kirchen-und Ketzer Histoire*, part II. book XVI. cap. xxxii. p. 863. As also the authors mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelken, in his *Dissertat. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio Rostochii*, 1724, *edit.*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

what that church had always taught concerning the unlimited extent of the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding none by an *absolute* decree from everlasting salvation. However, as a disagreeable experience and repeated examples had abundantly shewn, that new methods of explaining or proving, even received doctrines, were as much adapted to excite divisions and contests, as the introduction of new errors, Huber was exhorted to adhere to the ancient method of proposing the doctrine of *Election*, and instead of his own peculiar forms of expression, to make use of those that were received and authorized by the church. This compliance, nevertheless, he refused to submit to, alleging, that it was contrary to the dictates of his conscience; while his patrons and disciples in many places, gave several indications of a turbulent and seditious zeal for his cause. These considerations engaged the magistrates of *Wittemberg* to depose him from his office, and to send him into banishment [*n*].

The judgment that ought to be formed concerning all these controversies.

XLV. The controversies, of which a succinct account has now been given, and others of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention, were highly detrimental to the true interests of the Lutheran church, as is abundantly known by all who are acquainted with the history of this century. It must also be acknowledged, that the manner of conducting and deciding these debates, the spirit of the disputants, and the proceedings of the judges, if we form our estimate of them by the sentiments that prevail among the wiser sort of men in modern times, must be considered as inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. It betrays, nevertheless, a want, both of candour

[*n*] For an account of the writers that appeared in this controversy, see Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Introductio in Histor. Litter. Theologiæ*, part II. lib. iii. p. 431.

candour and justice to inveigh indiscriminately against the authors of these misfortunes, and to represent them as totally destitute of rational sentiments and virtuous principles. And it is yet more unjust to throw the whole blame upon the triumphant party, while the suffering side are all fondly represented as men of unblemished virtue, and worthy of a better fate. It ought not certainly to be a matter of surprise, that persons long accustomed to a state of darkness, and suddenly transported from thence into the blaze of day, did not, at first, behold the objects that were presented to their view with that distinctness and precision that are natural to those who have long enjoyed the light. And such really was the case of the first protestant doctors, who were delivered from the gloom of papal superstition and tyranny. Besides, there was something gross and indelicate in the reigning spirit of this age, which made the people, not only tolerate, but even applaud many things relating both to the conduct of life, and the management of controversy, which the more polished manners of modern times cannot relish, and which, indeed, are by no means worthy of imitation. As to the particular motives or intentions that ruled each individual in this troubled scene of controversy, whether they acted from the suggestions of malice and resentment, or from an upright and sincere attachment to what they looked upon to be the truth, or how far these two springs of action were jointly concerned in their conduct, all this must be left to the decision of Him alone, whose privilege it is to search the heart, and to discern its most hidden intentions, and its most secret motives.

The principal doctors and writers of this century.

XLIV. The Lutheran church furnished, during this century, a long list of considerable doctors, who illustrated in their writings, the various branches of theological science. After Luther and

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

and Melancthon, who stand foremost in this list, on account of their superior genius and erudition, we may select the following writers as the most eminent, and as persons whose names are worthy to be preserved in the annals of literature: *viz.* Weller, Chemnitz, Brentius, Flacius, Regius, Major, Amsdorf, Sarcerius, Mathesius, Wigandus, Lambertus, Andreæ, Chytræus, Salneccer, Bucer, Fagius, Cruciger, Strigelius, Spangenberg, Judex, Heshusius, Westphal, Æpinus, Osiander, and others [*o*].

CHAP. II.

The History of the Reformed [*p*] *Church.*

The constitution of the Reformed church.

I. THE nature and constitution of the reformed church, which was formerly denominated by its adversaries after its founders Zuingle

[*o*] For an ample account of these Lutheran doctors, see Melchior. Adami *Vitæ Theologorum*, and Louis Elis Dupin *Bibliotheque des Auteurs separés de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine au* xvii. *Siecle.* The lives of several of these divines have been also severally composed by different authors of the present times; as for example, that of Weller by Læmelius, that of Flacius by Ritter, those of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeldt, that of Fagius by Feverlin, that of Chytræus by Schutz, that of Buzer by Verportenius, those of Westphal and Æpinus by Arn. Grevius, &c.

☞[*p*] It has already been observed, that the denomination of *Reformed* was given to those protestant churches which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of Luther. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent. I say, on the continent; since in England the term *Reformed* is generally used as standing in opposition to popery alone. Be that as it may, this part of Dr. Mosheim's work would have been, perhaps, with more propriety entitled, 'The History of the Reformed Churches,' than 'The History of the Reformed Church.' This will appear still more evident from the following note.

Zuingle and Calvin, is entirely different from that of all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other Christian church hath some common centre of union, and its members are connected together by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the *Reformed* church [*q*], whose several branches are neither

 united

☞ [*q*] This, and the following observations, are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of unity, which is not to be found in the Reformed. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The Reformed church, when considered in the true extent of the term *reformed*, comprehends all those religious communities that separated themselves from the church of Rome; and, in this sense, includes the Lutheran church, as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents, not a single church, as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they be invisibly united by a belief and profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent separate places of worship, and have each a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government *. An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches being governed by bishops, and not admitting of the validity of presbyterian ordination, differs from the other three more than any of these differ from each other. There are, however, peculiarities of government and worship that distinguish the church of Holland from that of Scotland. The institutions of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary form of prayer, the observation of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church; and it is well known that the church of Scotland differs from it extremely in these respects.—But after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shewn, in its proper place, that even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.

* See the general sketch of the state of the church in the eighteenth century, in the sixth volume, paragraph XXI. and note (*y*).

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

united by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed, that this church does not require from its ministers, either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrine, but permits them to explain, in different ways, several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity, and the practical precepts of that divine religion, be maintained in their original purity. This great community, therefore, may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of several churches, that vary, more or less, from each other in their form and constitution; but which are preserved, however, from anarchy and schisms, by a general spirit of equity and toleration, that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union.

The causes that produced this state of things.

II. This indeed was not the original state and constitution of the Reformed church, but was the result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it by a sort of necessity, into this ambiguous form. The doctors of *Switzerland*, from whom it derived its origin, and Calvin, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts, in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments, under one rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lutherans as their brethren, yet they shewed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favoured the opinions of Luther, concerning the *Eucharist*, the *Person of Christ*, *Predestination*, and other matters that were connected with these doctrines: nor would they permit the other protestant churches, that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect,

spect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in *Britain*, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of church communion. For when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of *Episcopacy* and the *Puritans* [*r*], it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the Reformed church, and rank in the class of its true members, even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at Geneva. This spirit of toleration and indulgence grew still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous synod of *Dort*. For though the sentiments and doctrines of the *Arminians* were rejected and condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of *England*, under the reign of Charles I. publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the *Divine Decrees*, and made several attempts to model its doctrine and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs, that were observed by the primitive Christians [*s*]. On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in *Germany* entertained a strong propensity to the

☞ [*r*] The Puritans, who inclined to the presbyterian form of church government, of which Knox was one of the earliest abettors in Britain, derived this denomination from their pretending to a purer method of worship than that which had been established by Edward VI. and Queen Elisabeth.

☞ [*s*] This assertion is equivocal. Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did, indeed, propagate the doctrines of Arminius, both in their pulpits, and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say, that the Church of England renounced publicly, in that reign, the opinions of Calvin. See this matter farther discussed in the note [*m*], Cent. XVII. sect. II. p. II. ch. II. paragraph xx.

doctrines and discipline of the church of *Geneva;* though they were restrained from declaring themselves fully and openly on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges they derived from their adherence to the confession of *Augsburg*. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable, by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favour of religious liberty. All these circumstances, accompanied with others, whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, instilled, by degrees, such a spirit of lenity and forbearance into the minds of protestants, that at this day, all Christians, if we except *Roman catholics*, *Socinians*, *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, may claim a place among the members of the Reformed church. It is true, great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church communion; and, even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons, who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of Calvin universally adopted and rigorously observed. The number, however, of these rigid doctors is not very great, nor is their influence considerable. And it may be affirmed with truth that, both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity towards those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure (if I may use that expression) of the Reformed church rendered

rendered as large and comprehensive as is possible [*s*].

III. The founder of the Reformed church was Ulrick Zuingle, a native of *Switzerland*, and a man of uncommon penetration and acuteness, accompanied with an ardent zeal for truth. This great man was for removing out of the churches, and abolishing in the ceremonies and appendages of public worship, many things which Luther was disposed to treat with toleration and indulgences, such as images, altars, wax-tapers, the form of *exorcism*, and private confession. He aimed at nothing so much as establishing, in his country, a method and form of divine worship remarkable for its simplicity, and as far remote as could be from every thing that might have the smallest tendency to nourish a spirit of superstition [*t*]. Nor were these the only circumstances in

The foundation of the Reformed church laid by Zuingle.

[*s*] The annals of theology have not as yet been enriched with a full and accurate *History of the Reformed Church.* This task was indeed undertaken by Scultet, and even carried down so far as his own time, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; but the greatest part of this work is lost. Theod. Hasæus, who proposed to give the Annals of the Reformed Church, was prevented by death from fulfilling his purpose. The famous work of James Basnage, published in two volumes 4to, at Rotterdam, in the year 1725, under the title of *Histoire de la religion des Eglises Reformées*, instead of giving a regular History of the Reformed Church, is only designed to shew that its peculiar and distinguishing doctrines are not new inventions, but were taught and embraced in the earliest ages of the church. Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinismi*, is remarkable for nothing but the partiality of its author, and the wilful errors with which it abounds.

☞ [*t*] The design of Zuingle was certainly excellent; but in the execution of it perhaps he went too far, and consulted rather the dictates of reason than the real exigencies of human nature in its present state. The present union between soul and body, which operate together in the actions of moral agents, even in those that appear the most abstracted and refined, renders it necessary to consult the external senses, as well as the intellectual powers, in the institution of public worship. Besides,

in which he differed from the Saxon reformer; for his sentiments concerning several points of theology, and more especially his opinions relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, varied widely from those of Luther. The greatest part of these sentiments and opinions were adopted in *Switzerland*, by those who had joined themselves to Zuingle in promoting the cause of the Reformation, and were by them transmitted to all the Helvetic churches, that threw off the yoke of *Rome*. From *Switzerland* these opinions were propagated among the neighbouring nations, by the ministerial labours and the theological writings of the friends and disciples of Zuingle: and thus the primitive Reformed church, that was founded by this eminent ecclesiastic, and whose extent at first was not very considerable, gathered strength by degrees, and made daily new acquisitions.

The controversy between the Lutherans and Reformed concerning the eucharist.

IV. The separation between the Lutheran and Swiss churches was chiefly occasioned by the doctrine of Zuingle, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Luther maintained, that the *body* and *blood* of Christ were *really*, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, *present* in the eucharist, and were exhibited together with the *bread* and *wine*. On the contrary, the Swiss reformer looked upon the *bread* and *wine* in no other light, than as the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ; and from

Besides, between a worship purely and philosophically rational, and a service grossly and palpably superstitious, there are many intermediate steps and circumstances, by which a rational service may be rendered more affecting and awakening, without becoming superstitious. A noble edifice, a solemn music, a well-ordered set of external gestures, though they do not, in themselves, render our prayers one whit more acceptable to the Deity than if they were offered up without any of these circumstances, produce, nevertheless, a good effect. They elevate the mind, they give it a composed and solemn frame, and thus contribute to the fervour of its devotion.

from the year 1524, propagated this doctrine in a public manner by his writings, after having entertained and taught it privately before that period [*u*]. In a little time after this [*w*], his example was followed by Oecolampadius, a divine of *Basil*, and one of the most learned men of that century [*x*]. But they were both opposed with obstinacy and spirit by Luther and his associates, particularly those of the circle of *Suabia*. In the mean time, Philip, landgrave of *Hesse*, apprehending the pernicious effects that these debates might have upon the affairs of the protestants, which were, as yet, in that fluctuating and unsettled state that marks the infancy of all great revolutions, was desirous of putting an end to these differences, and appointed for that purpose, a conference at *Marpurg*, between Zuingle, Luther, and other doctors of both parties [*y*]. This meeting, however, only covered the flame instead of extinguishing it; and the pacific prince, seeing it impossible to bring about a definitive treaty of peace and concord between these jarring divines, was obliged to rest satisfied with having engaged them to consent to a truce. Luther and Zuingle came to an agreement about several points; but the principal matter in debate, even that

[*u*] Zuingle certainly taught this doctrine in private before the year 1524, as appears from Gerdes *Historia Renovat. Evangelii*, tom. i. Append. p. 228.

[*w*] In the year 1525.

[*x*] Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria* I. *Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* p. 31, 35, 44, 49.—☞ Oecolampadius was not less remarkable for his extraordinary modesty, his charitable forbearing, and pacific spirit, and his zeal for the progress of vital and practical religion, than for his profound erudition, which he seemed rather studious to conceal than to display.

☞ [*y*] Zuingle was accompanied by Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Hideon. Luther had with him Melancthon and Justus Jonas from Saxony, together with Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

that which regarded Christ's presence in the eucharist, was left undecided; each party appealing to the Fountain of wisdom to terminate this controversy, and expressing their hopes that time and impartial reflection might discover and confirm the truth [z].

The progress of these disputes so far down as the death of Luther.

V. The Reformed church had scarcely been founded in *Switzerland* by Zuingle, when this Christian hero fell in a battle that was fought, in the year 1530, between the protestants of *Zurich*, and their Roman catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of popery. It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuingle was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate, by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause [a]. After his death,

[z] Ruchat. *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse,* vol. i. passim, vol. ii. livr. vi. p. 463.—Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichte,* part III. p. 27. 51. 483.—Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia Motuum,* part I. cap. ii. iii. p. 55. cap. vi. p. 143. —Fueslin. *Beytragezur Schweizer Reformation.* tom. iv. p. 120.

[a] The Lutherans, who consider this unhappy fate of Zuingle as a reproach upon that great man in particular, and upon the reformed church in general, discover a gross ignorance of the genius and manners of the Swiss nation in this century. For as all the inhabitants of that country are at present trained to arms, and obliged to take the field when the defence of their country requires it, so in the time of Zuingle this obligation was so universal, that neither the ministers of the gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from this military service. Accordingly, in the same battle in which Zuingle fell, Jerome Potanus, one of the theological doctors of Basil, also lost his life. See Fueslini *Centuria* I. *Epistolar. Theol. Reformator.* p. 84. ☞ Erasmus also spoke in a very unfriendly manner of the death of Zuingle and his friend Oecolampadius. See Jortin's life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 522. It is not therefore surprising to find the bigotted Sir Thomas More insulting (with the barbarity that superstition seldom fails to produce in a narrow and peevish mind) the memory of these two eminent reformers, in a letter to the furious

death, several Lutheran doctors of the more moderate sort, and particularly Martin Bucer, used their utmost endeavours to bring about some kind of reconciliation between the contending parties. For this purpose they exhorted the jarring theologians to concord, interpreted the points in dispute with a prudent regard to the prejudices of both sides, admonished them of the pernicious consequences that must attend the prolongation of these unhappy contests, and even went so far as to express the respective sentiments of the contending doctors in terms of considerable ambiguity and latitude, that thus the desired union might be the more easily effected. There is no doubt, but that the intentions and designs of these zealous intercessors, were pious and upright [*b*]; but it will be difficult to decide, whether or no the means they employed were adapted to promote the end they had in view. Be that as it may, these pacific councils of Bucer excited divisions in *Switzerland;* for some persevered obstinately in the doctrine of Zuingle, while others adopted the explications and modifications of his doctrine that were offered by Bucer [*c*]. But these divisions and commotions had not the least effect on that reconciliation with Luther, that was earnestly desired by the pious and moderate doctors

furious and turbulent Cochlæus; of which the following words shew the spirit of the writer: "Postrema a fuit, quam de Zuinglio & Oecolampadio scriptam misisti, quorum nunciata mors mihi Lætitiam attulet.—Sublatos e medio esse tam immanes Fidei Christianæ hostes, tam intentos ubique in omnem perimendæ pietatis occasionem, jure gaudere possum." Jortin, ibid. vol. ii. p. 702. App. No. xvi. N.

[*b*] See Alb. Menon. Verpoorten, *Comment. de Mart. Bucero et ejus sententia de Cœna Domini,* sect. ix. p. 23. published in 8vo, at Coburg, in the year 1709.—Loscheri *Histor. Motuum,* part I. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181. and part II. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

[*c*] Fueslini *Centur.* I. *Epistolar. Theolog.* p. 162, 170, 181, 182, 190, &c.

doctors on both sides. The efforts of Bucer were more successful out of *Switzerland*, and particularly among those divines in the upper parts of *Germany*, who inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church; for they retired from the communion of that church, and joined themselves to Luther by a public act, which was sent to *Wittemberg*, in the year 1536, by a solemn deputation appointed for that purpose [*d*]. The Swiss divines could not be brought to so great a length. There was, however, still more prospect of effecting a reconciliation between them and the Lutherans. But this fair prospect entirely disappeared in the year 1544, when Luther published his *Confession* of faith in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was directly opposite to the doctrine of Zuingle and his followers on that head. The doctors of *Zurich* pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon reformer the year following; and thus the purposes of the peace-makers were totally defeated [*e*].

The transactions that succeeded the death of Luther.

VI. The death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, was an event that seemed adapted to calm these commotions, and to revive, in the breasts of the moderate and pacific, the hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties. For this union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians was so ardently desired by Melancthon and his followers, that this great man left no means unemployed to bring it about, and seemed resolved rather to submit to a dubious and forced peace, than to see those flaming discords perpetuated, which reflected such dishonour on the Protestant cause. On the other hand, this salutary work seemed to be facilitated by the theological

[*d*] Loscherus. *loc. cit.* cap. ii. p. 205.—Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformat. de la Suisse*, tom. v. p. 535.—Hottingeri *Histor. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 702.

[*e*] Loscherus, *loc. cit.* part i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 341.

gical system that was adopted by John Calvin, a native of *Noyon* in *France*, who was pastor and professor of divinity at *Geneva*, and whose genius, learning, eloquence, and talents rendered him respectable, even in the eyes of his enemies. This great man, whose particular friendship for Melancthon was an incidental circumstance highly favourable to the intended reconciliation, proposed an explication of the point in debate, that modified the crude hypothesis of Zuingle, and made use of all his credit and authority among the Swiss, and more particularly at *Zurich*, where he was held in the highest veneration, in order to obtain their assent to it [*f*]. The explication he proposed, was not, indeed, favourable to the doctrine of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, which he persisted in denying; he supposed however, that a certain *divine virtue*, or *efficacy* was communicated by Christ, with the *bread* and *wine*, to those who approached this holy sacrament with a lively faith, and with upright hearts; and to render this notion still more satisfactory, he expressed it in almost the same terms which the Lutherans employed in inculcating their doctrine of Christ's real presence in the eucharist [*g*]. For the great and common error of all those, who, from a desire of peace, assumed the character of arbitrators in this controversy, lay in this, that they aimed rather at a uniformity of *terms*, than of *sentiments*; and seemed satisfied when they had engaged the contending parties to use

[*f*] Christ. Aug. Salig. *Historia Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. p. 1075.

☞ [*g*] Calvin went certainly too far in this matter; and, in his explication of the benefits that arise from a worthy commemoration of Christ's death in the eucharist, he dwelt too grossly upon the allegorical expressions of scripture, which the papists had so egregiously abused, and talked of really eating by faith the body, and drinking the blood of Christ.

use the same *words* and phrases, though their real difference in opinion remained the same, and each explained these ambiguous or figurative terms in a manner agreeable to their respective systems.

The concord, so much desired, did not, however, seem to advance much. Melancthon, who stood foremost in the rank of those who longed impatiently for it, had not courage enough to embark openly in the execution of such a perilous project. Besides, after the death of Luther, his enemies attacked him with redoubled fury, and gave him so much disagreeable occupation, that he had neither that leisure, nor that tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to prepare his measures properly for such an arduous undertaking. A new obstacle to the execution of this pacific project was also presented, by the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor at *Hamburg*, who, in the year 1552, renewed with greater vehemence than ever, this deplorable controversy, which had been for some time suspended, and who, after Flacius, was the most obstinate defender of the opinions of Luther. This violent theologian attacked with that spirit of acrimony and vehemence, that was too remarkable in the polemic writings of Luther, the *act of uniformity*, by which the churches of *Geneva* and *Zurich* declared their *agreement concerning the doctrine of the eucharist.* In the book which he published with this view [*h*], he censured with the utmost severity, the variety of sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper that was observable in the reformed church, and maintained, with his usual warmth and obstinacy,

☞ [*u*] This book, which abounds with senseless and extravagant tenets that Luther never so much as thought of, and breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution, is entitled "Farrago confusanearum et inter se dissidentium de S. Cœna opinionum ex Sacramentariorum Libris congesta."

stinacy, the opinion of Luther on that subject. This engaged Calvin to enter the lists with Westphal, whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance, as the rigid Lutherans had shewed towards the Helvetic churches. The consequences of this debate were, that Calvin and Westphal had each their zealous defenders and patrons; hence the breach widened, the spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with such violence and fury, that to extinguish it entirely seemed to be a task beyond the reach of human wisdom or human power [*i*].

The controversy concerning predestination.

VII. These disputes were unhappily augmented in process of time, by that famous controversy concerning the *decrees of God*, with respect to the eternal condition of men, which was set on foot by Calvin, and became an inexhaustible source of intricate researches, and abstruse, subtile, and inexplicable questions. The most ancient Helvetic doctors were far from adopting the doctrine of those, who represent the Deity as allotting, from all eternity, by an *absolute*, *arbitrary*, and *unconditional* decree, to some everlasting happiness, and to others endless misery, without any *previous* regard to the moral characters and circumstances of either. Their sentiments seemed to differ but very little from those of the Pelagians; nor did they hesitate in declaring, after the example of Zuingle, that the kingdom of heaven was open to all who lived according to the dictates of right reason [*k*]. Calvin had adopted a quite

 different

[*i*] Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part II. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83.—Molleri, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 642. Arn. Grevii *Memoria* Joac. Westphali, p. 62, 106.

[*k*] For the proof of this assertion, see Dallei *Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicar. Synodis adversus Frid. Spanheim.* part IV. p. 946.—Jo. Alphons. Turretini *Epistol. ad Antestitem Cantuariensem*, which is inserted in the *Bibliotheque Germanic*, tom. xiii. p. 52.—Simon, *Bibliotheque Critique*, published under the fictitious name of Sainior, tom.

different system with respect to the divine decrees, He maintained, that the everlasting condition of mankind in a future world was determined from all eternity by the *unchangeable order* of the Deity, and that this *absolute* determination of his *will* and *good pleasure*, was the *only* source of happiness or misery to every individual. This opinion was in a very short time propagated through all the Reformed churches, by the writings of Calvin, and by the ministry of his disciples, and in some places was inserted in the national creeds and confessions; and thus made a public article of faith. The unhappy controversy, which took its rise from this doctrine, was opened at *Strasburg*, in the year 1560, by Jerome Zanchius, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was particularly attached to the sentiments of Calvin; and was afterwards carried on by others with such zeal and assiduity, that it drew, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of the public, and tended as much to exasperate the passion, and foment the discord of the contending parties, as the dispute about the eucharist had already done [*l*].

The discord is carried to the greatest height.

VIII. The Helvetic doctors had no prospect left of calming the troubled spirits and tempering, at least, the vehemence of these deplorable feuds, but the moderation of the Saxon divines, who were the disciples of Melancthon, and who breathing

tom. iii. ch. xxviii. p. 292, 298. and also the author of a book, entitled, *Observationes Gallicæ in Formul, Consensus Helveticum*, p. 52. The very learned Gerdes, instead of being persuaded by these testimonies, maintains, on the contrary, in his *Miscellan. Groningens.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477. that the sentiments of Calvin were the same with those of the ancient Swiss doctors. But this excellent author may be refuted, even from his own account of the tumults that were occasioned in Switzerland, by the opinion that Calvin had propagated in relation to the divine decrees.

[*l*] Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part III. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27. S. c. x. p. 227.—Salig, *Historia August. Confession.* tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 441.

breathing the pacific spirit of their master, seemed after his death, to have nothing so much at heart as the restoration of concord and union in the protestant church. Their designs, however, were not carried on with that caution and circumspection, with that prudent foresight, or that wise attention to the nature of the times, which distinguished always the transactions of Melancthon, and which the critical nature of the cause they were engaged in, indispensably required. And hence they had already taken a step, which was adapted to render ineffectual all the remedies they could apply to the healing of the present disorders. For, by dispersing every where artful and insidious writings, with a design to seduce the ministers of the church, and the studious youth, into the sentiments of the Swiss divines, or, at least, to engage them to treat these sentiments with toleration and forbearance, they drew upon themselves the indignation of their adversaries, and ruined the pacific cause in which they had embarked. It was this conduct of theirs that gave occasion to the composition of that famous *Form of Concord*, which condemned the sentiments of the Reformed churches in relation to the *person* of Christ, and the *sacrament* of the Lord's supper. And as this *Form* is received by the greatest part of the Lutherans, as one of the articles of their religion; hence arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord.

What those things are, that are most worthy of observation in the rise and progress of the Reformed church.

IX. So much did it seem necessary to premise concerning the causes, rise, and progress of the controversy, which formed that separation that still subsists between the Lutheran and Reformed churches. From thence it will be proper to proceed to an account of the internal state of the latter, and to the history of its progress and revolutions. The history of the Reformed church, during this century, comprehends two distinct

periods. The first commences with the year 1519, when Zuingle withdrew from the communion of *Rome*, and began to form a Christian church beyond the bounds of the pope's jurisdiction; and it extends to the time of Calvin's settlement at *Geneva*, where he acquired the greatest reputation and authority. The second period takes in the rest of this century.

During the first of these periods, the Helvetic church, which assumed the title of *Reformed* after the example of the French protestants in their neighbourhood, who had chosen this denomination, in order to distinguish themselves from the Roman Catholics, was very inconsiderable in its extent, and was confined to the cantons of *Switzerland*. It was indeed augmented by the accession of some small states in *Suabia* and *Alsace*, such as the city of *Strasbourg*, and some little republics. But, in the year 1536, these petty states changed sides, through the suggestions and influence of Bucer, returned to the communion of the Saxon church, and thus made their peace with Luther. The other religious communities, which abandoned the church of *Rome*, either openly embraced the doctrine of Luther, or consisted of persons, who were not agreed in their theological opinions, and who really seemed to stand in a kind of neutrality between the contending parties. All things being duly considered, it appears probable enough that the church founded by Zuingle, would have remained still confined to the narrow limits which bounded it at first, had not Calvin arisen, to augment its extent, authority and lustre. For the natural and political character of the Swiss, which is neither bent towards the lust of conquest, nor the grasping views of ambition, discovered itself in their religious transactions. And, as a spirit of contentment with what they had, prevented their aiming

aiming at an augmentation of their territory, so did a similar spirit hinder them from being extremely solicitous about enlarging the borders of their church.

The religious points that first excited divisions between the Swiss and the Lutherans.

X. In this infant state of the Reformed church, the only point that prevented its union with the followers of Luther, was the doctrine they taught with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This first controversy, indeed, soon produced a second, relating to the *person* of Jesus Christ; which, nevertheless, concerned only a part of the Lutheran church [*m*]. The Lutheran divines of *Suabia*, in the course of their debates with those of *Switzerland*, drew an argument in favour of the *real* presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, from the following proposition: that "all the *properties* of the divine nature, and consequently its *omnipresence*, were "communicated to the human nature of Christ "by the hypostatic union." The Swiss doctors, in order to destroy the force of this argument, denied this communication of the divine attributes to Christ's human nature; and denied, more especially, the *ubiquity*, or *omnipresence* of the *man Jesus*. And hence arose that most intricate and abstruse controversy concerning *ubiquity*, and the *communication* of properties, that produced so many learned and unintelligible treatises, so many subtile disputes, and occasioned that multitude of invectives and accusations, that the contending parties threw out against each other with such liberality and profusion.

☞ [*m*] It was only a certain number of those Lutherans, that were much more rigid in their doctrine than Luther himself, that believed the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's person, considered as a man. By this we may see that the Lutherans have their divisions as well as the Reformed, of which several instances may be yet given in the course of this history.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

It is proper to observe, that, at this time, the Helvetic church universally embraced the doctrine of Zuingle concerning the eucharist. This doctrine, which differed considerably from that of Calvin, amounted to the following propositions: "That the *bread* and *wine* were no more than a "representation of the *body* and *blood* of Christ; "or, in other words, the *signs* appointed to de- "note the benefits that were conferred upon man- "kind, in consequence of the death of Christ; "that, therefore, Christians derived no other fruit "from the participation of the Lord's supper, than "a mere commemoration and remembrance of "the merits of Christ, which, according to an "expression, common in the mouths of the abet- "tors of this doctrine, was the *only thing that* "*was properly meant by the Lord's supper* [*n*]." Bucer, whose leading principle was the desire of peace and concord, endeavoured to correct and modify this doctrine in such a manner, as to give it a certain degree of conformity to the hypothesis of Luther; but the memory of Zuingle was too fresh in the minds of the Swiss, to permit their accepting of these corrections and modifications, or to suffer them to depart, in any respect, from the doctrine of that eminent man, who had founded their church, and been the instrument of their deliverance from the tyranny and superstition of *Rome*.

John Calvin the principal founder of the Reformed church.

XI. In the year 1541, John Calvin, who surpassed almost all the doctors of this age in laborious

[*n*] *Nil esse in Cœna, quam memoriam Christi.* That this was the real opinion of Zuingle, appears evidently from various testimonies, which may be seen in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 485, 390. tom. iii. p. 631.—This is also confirmed by the following sentence in Zuingle's book concerning baptism; (tom. ii. opp. p. 15.) "Cœno Dominica non aliud, quam Commemorationis nomen meretur." Compare with all this Fueslini *Centur.* I. *Epistolar. Theologor. Reformator.* p. 255, 262, &c.

borious application, constancy of mind, force of eloquence, and extent of genius, returned to *Geneva*, from whence the opposition of his enemies had obliged him to retire. On his settlement in that city, the affairs of the new church were committed to his direction [*o*], and he acquired also a high degree of influence in the political administration of that republic. This event changed entirely the face of affairs, and gave a new aspect to the Reformed church. The views and projects of this great man were grand and extensive. For he not only undertook to give strength and vigour to the rising church, by framing the wisest laws and the most salutary institutions for the maintenance of order, and the advancement of true piety, but even proposed to render *Geneva* the mother, the seminary of all the Reformed churches, as *Wittemberg* was of all the Lutheran communities. He laid a scheme for sending forth from this little republic the succours and ministers that were to promote and propagate the Protestant cause through the most distant nations, and aimed at nothing less than rendering the government, discipline, and doctrine of *Geneva* the model and rule of imitation to the Reformed churches throughout the world. The undertaking was certainly great, and worthy of the extensive genius and capacity of this eminent man; and, great and arduous as it was, it was executed in part, nay, carried on to a very

 considerable

[*o*] Calvin, in reality, enjoyed the power and authority of a bishop at Geneva; for, as long as he lived, he presided in the assembly of the clergy, and in the consistory, or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when he was at the point of death, he advised the clergy not to give a successor, and proved to them evidently the dangerous consequences of entrusting with any one man, during life, a place of such high authority. After him, therefore, the place of president ceased to be perpetual. See Spon, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 111.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

considerable length, by his indefatigable assiduity and inextinguishable zeal. It was with this view, that, by the fame of his learning, as well as by his epistolary solicitations and encouragements of various kinds, he engaged many persons of rank and fortune, in *France, Italy*, and other countries, to leave the places of their nativity, and to settle at *Geneva;* while others repaired thither merely out of curiosity to see a man, whose talents and exploits had rendered him so famous, and to hear the discourses which he delivered in public. Another circumstance, that contributed much to the success of his designs, was the establishment of an academy at *Geneva*, which the senate of that city founded at his request; and in which he himself, with his colleague, Theodore Beza, and other divines of eminent learning and abilities, taught the sciences with the greatest reputation. In effect, the lustre which these great men reflected upon this infant seminary of learning, spread its fame through the distant nations with such amazing rapidity, that all who were ambitious of a distinguished progress in either sacred or profane erudition, repaired to *Geneva*, and that *England, Scotland, France, Italy*, and *Germany*, seemed to vie with each other in the numbers of their studious youth, that were incessantly repairing to the new academy. By these means, and by the ministry of these his disciples, Calvin enlarged considerably the borders of the reformed church, propagated his doctrine, and gained proselytes and patrons to his theological system, in several countries of *Europe*. In the midst of this glorious career, he ended his days, in the year 1564; but the salutary institutions and wise regulations, of which he had been the author, were both respected and maintained after his death. In a more especial manner, the academy of *Geneva* flourished

flourished as much under Beza, as it had done during the life of its founder [*p*].

XII. The plan and doctrine of discipline that had been formed by Zuingle, was altered and corrected by Calvin; and that more especially in three points, of which it will not be improper to give a particular account.

The form of doctrine and ecclesiastical government drawn up by this Reformer.

1*st*, Zuingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many. But at the same time he allowed of a certain subordination and difference of rank among the ministers of the church, and even thought it expedient to place at their head a perpetual president, or superintendent, with a certain degree of inspection and authority over the whole body. Calvin, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate, in religious matters, within narrow bounds. He declared the church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained, that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of elders, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns. Thus this eminent Reformer introduced into

[*p*] The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by Calvin, in behalf, both of the Republic and church of Geneva, are related by the learned person, who, in the year 1730, gave a new edition (enriched with interesting historical notes, and authentic documents) of Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*. The particular accounts of Calvin's transactions, given by this anonymous editor, in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts of undoubted credit. See Spon, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 87, 100, &c.

into the republic of *Geneva*, and endeavoured to introduce into all the reformed churches throughout *Europe*, that form of ecclesiastical government, which is called *Presbyterian*, from its neither admitting of the institution of bishops, nor of any subordination among the clergy; and which is founded on this principle, that all ministers of the gospel are, by the law of God, declared to be equal in rank and authority. In consequence of this principle, he established at *Geneva* a *consistory* composed of *ruling elders*, partly *pastors*, and partly *laymen*, and invested this ecclesiastical body with a high degree of power and authority. He also convened synods, composed of the ruling elders of different churches, and in these consistories and synods had laws enacted for the regulation of all matters of a religious nature; and, among other things, restored to its former vigour the ancient practice of *excommunication*. All these things were done with the consent of the greatest part of the senate of *Geneva*.

2*dly*, The system that Zuingle had adopted with respect to the eucharist, was by no means agreeable to Calvin, who, in order to facilitate the desired union with the Lutheran church, substituted in its place, another, which appeared more conformable to the doctrine of that church, and in reality, differed but little from it. For while the doctrine of Zuingle supposed only a *symbolical*, or figurative *presence* of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and represented a pious remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits it procured to mankind, as the only fruits that arose from the celebration of the Lord's supper, Calvin explained this critical point in a quite different manner. He acknowledged a *real*, though *spiritual presence* of Christ in this sacrament; or, in other words, he maintained, that true Christians, who approached this holy ordinance

nance with a lively faith, were, in a certain manner, united to the man Christ; and that from this union the spiritual life derived new vigour in the soul, and was still carried on, in a progressive motion, to greater degrees of purity and perfection. This kind of language had been used in the forms of doctrine drawn up by Luther: and as Calvin observed, among other things, that the *divine grace was conferred* upon sinners, and *sealed* to them by the celebration of the Lord's supper, this induced many to suppose that he adopted the sentiment implied in the barbarous term *impanation* [*q*], and differed but little from the doctrine of the Lutheran church on this important

☞ [*q*] The term *Impanation*, (which signifies here the *presence* of Christ's body in the eucharist, *in*, or *with* the *bread* that is there exhibited) amounts to what is called Consubstantiation. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation, first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterwards adopted by Luther and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For, in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of substances, subsistences, attributes, properties, and accidents, that did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical, and unintelligible logic that reigned in the attempts of the Roman catholics to defend the doctrine of Transubstantiation, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of Consubstantiation, or impanation. The latter had, indeed, one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert, in opposition to intuitive evidence and unchangeable truth, that the same body can be in many places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools, to hide the nonsense of this unaccountable doctrine. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least, they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.

portant subject [*r*]. Be that as it may, his sentiments differed considerably from those of Zuingle; for while the latter asserted, that all Christians, without distinction, whether *regenerate* or *unregenerate*, might be partakers of the body and blood of Christ; Calvin confined this privilege to the pious and *regenerate* believer alone.

3dly, The *absolute decree* of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, which made no part of the theology of Zuingle, was an essential tenet in the creed of Calvin, who inculcated with zeal the following doctrine: "That God, in predestinating from all "eternity, one part of mankind to everlasting hap- "piness, and another to endless misery, was led to "make this distinction by no other motive than "his own *good pleasure* and *free-will*."

These changes made by Calvin are not approved of nor received by all the reformed churches.

XIII. The first of the three points now mentioned, was of such a nature, that great as the credit and influence of Calvin were, he could not

[*r*] See Fueslini *Centur* I. *Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* tom. i. p. 255, 256, 262, 263.—*Letters de Calvin a Mons. Jac. de Falaise*, p. 84, 85.—We learn in Fueslin, p. 263. that Calvin wrote to Bucer a letter, intimating, that he approved of his sentiments. It is possible, that he may have derived from Bucer the opinion he entertained with respect to the eucharist. —See Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 8, 14, 19.—Courayer, *Examen des Defauts des Theologiens*, tom. ii. p. 72. These two writers pretend that the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the eucharist, were almost the same with those of the Roman Catholics *. The truth of the matter is, that the obscurity and inconsistency with which this great man expressed himself upon that subject, render it extremely difficult to give a clear and accurate account of his doctrine.

* How it could come into the heads of such men as Bossuet and Dr. Courayer to say, that "the sentiments of Calvin concerning the eucharist were almost the same with those of the Roman Catholics," is, indeed, strange enough. The doctrine of transubstantiation was to Calvin an invincible obstacle to any sort of conformity between him and Rome on that subject. For however obscure and figurative his expressions with respect to Christ's spiritual presence in the eucharist may have been, he never once dreamed of any thing like a corporal presence in that holy sacrament.

not procure a universal reception for it in the Reformed churches. The English and Germans rejected it, and even the Swiss refused to adopt it. It was, however, received by the Reformed churches in *France*, *Holland*, and *Scotland*. The Swiss remained firm in their opposition; they would not suffer the form of ecclesiastical government, that had once been established under the inspection of Zuingle, to be changed in any respect, nor the power of the civil magistrate, in religious matters, to receive the smallest prejudice. The other two points were long debated, even in *Switzerland*, with the greatest warmth. Several churches, more especially those of *Zurich* and *Bern*, maintained obstinately the doctrine of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist [*s*]; neither could they be easily persuaded to admit, as an article of faith the doctrine of *predestination*, as it had been taught by Calvin [*t*]. The prudence, however, of this great man, seconded by his resolute perseverance and his extraordinary credit, triumphed at length so far, as to bring about an union between the Swiss churches, and that of *Geneva*, first in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist [*u*], and afterwards also on the subject of *predestination* [*w*]. The followers of Calvin extended still farther the triumphs of their chief, and improved with such success the footing he had gained, that, in process of time, almost all the Reformed churches adopted his theological system,

[*s*] See Fueslini *Centur. Epistolar.* p. 264.—*Museum Helvet.* tom. i. p. 490. tom. v. p. 479, 483, 490. tom. ii. p. 79.

[*t*] Besides Ruchat and Hottinger, see *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 105, 107, 117.—Gerdes, *Miscellan Groningens Nova*, tom. ii. p. 476, 477.

[*u*] The agreement between the churches of Switzerland and that of Geneva was concluded in 1549 and 1554.

[*w*] See the *Consensus Genev. et Tigurinor.* in Calvini *Opusculis*, p. 754.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

system, to which, no doubt, his learned writings contributed a good deal [*x*].

The progress of Calvin's system in Germany.

XIV. It will not be improper to pass in review the different countries in which the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed church, as modelled by Calvin, were established in a fixed and permanent manner. Among its chief patrons in *Germany* we may reckon Frederick III. elector *Palatine*, who, in the year 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists; and, at the same time, obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of *Geneva* [*y*]. This order was indeed abrogated, in the year 1576, by his son and successor Lewis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. The effects of this revolution were, however, but transitory; for in the year 1583, under the government of the elector John Casimir, who had followed the example of his brother Frederick in embracing the discipline of the Reformed church, the face of things was again changed in favour of Calvinism, which resumed what it had lost, and became triumphant [*z*]. From this period the church of the Palatinate obtained the second place among the Reformed churches;

[*x*] The learned Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, in his *Letters to Leibnitz*, published by Kappius, maintains (p. 24, 25, 41.) that the opinion of Zuingle has no longer any patrons among the Reformed. But this is a palpable mistake: For its patrons and defenders are, on the contrary, extremely numerous; and at this very time the doctrine of Zuingle is received in England, Switzerland, and other countries, and seems to acquire new degrees of credit from day to day.

[*y*] Hen. Altingii *Hist. Eccl. Palat.* in Lud. Chr. Miegii *Monum. Palat.* tom. i. p. 223.—Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part II. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125.—Salig, *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 433.

[*z*] Alting *loc. cit.*—Loscherus, *ibid.* part III. lib. vi. p. 324.—See also a German work, entitled, Gotth. Struvius, *Pfaelzische Kirchen Histoire*, p. 110.

churches; and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the *Form of instruction*, which was composed for its use by Ursinus, and which is known under the title of the *Catechism of Heidelberg*, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists [*a*]. The republic of *Bremen* embraced also the doctrine and institutions of the Reformed. Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was the first who attempted to introduce there the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. This attempt he made so early as the year 1556; and, though a powerful opposition rendered it unsuccessful, and procured the expulsion of its author out of the city of *Bremen*, yet the latent seeds of Calvinism took root, and, towards the conclusion of this century, acquired such strength, that no measures either of prudence or force were sufficient to prevent the church of *Bremen* from modelling its faith, worship, and government, after that of *Geneva* [*b*]. The various motives that engaged other German states to adopt by degrees, the same sentiments, and the incidents and circumstances that favoured the progress of Calvinism in the empire, must be sought in those writers, who have undertaken to give a full, complete, and ample history of the Christian church.

XV. Those among the French, who first renounced the jurisdiction and doctrine of the church of *Rome*, are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of these early times. This denomination, joined to other circumstances, has engaged some to imagine, that these French converts to the protestant

And in France.

[*a*] For an account of the catechism of Heidelberg, see Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 593, and 308.

[*b*] Salig. *loc. cit.* part III. lib. x. cap. v. p. 715. and cap. vi. p. 776.—Loscherus, *loc. cit.* part II. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134. and part III. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276.—Gerdes, *Historia Renovatii Evangelii*, tom. iii. p. 157.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

protestant cause were attached to the tenets of the Lutheran church, and averse to those of the Swiss doctors [*c*]. But this is by no means a just representation of the matter. It appears much more probable, that the first French protestants were uniform in nothing but their antipathy to the church of *Rome*, and that this point being excepted, there was a great variety in their religious sentiments. It is, however, to be observed, that the vicinity of *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, and other cities which had adopted the doctrine of Calvin, together with the incredible zeal of this eminent man, and his two colleagues Farel and Beza, in nourishing the opposition of the church of *Rome*, and augmenting both the indignation and number of its enemies, produced a very remarkable effect upon the French churches; for, about the middle of this century, they all, without exception, entered into the bonds of fraternal communion with the church of *Geneva*. The French protestants were called by their enemies Huguenots, by way of derision and contempt; the origin, however, of this denomination is extremely uncertain [*d*]. Their

[*c*] Loscheri *Historia motuum*, part II. cap. vi. p. 46.—Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 190.

☞ [*d*] Some etymologists suppose this term derived from *Hugnon*, a word used in Touraine, to signify *persons that walk at night in the streets*. And as the first Protestants, like the first Christians, may have chosen that season for their religious assemblies, through the fear of persecution, the nickname of *huguenot* may, naturally enough, have been applied to them by their enemies. Others are of opinion, that it was derived from a French, and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgnossen*, which signifies *confederates*, and had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss Cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III. duke of Savoy. These confederates were called *eignots*, and from thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenots*, now under consideration. The Count

Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury; and, though many princes of the royal blood, and a great number of the flower of the nobility, adopted their sentiments, and stood forth in their cause [e], yet it may nevertheless be affirmed, that no other part of the Reformed church suffered so grievously as they did for the sake of religion. Even the peace, which they obtained from Henry III. in the year 1576, was the source of that civil war, in which the powerful and ambitious house of *Guise*, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Huguenots, on the other hand, headed by leaders of the most heroic valour and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds as are yet, and always will be remembered with horror, were, at length calmed by the fortitude and prudence of Henry IV. This monarch, indeed, sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy; and imagining, that his government could have no stable nor solid foundation, as long as he persisted in disowning the authority and jurisdiction of *Rome*,

Count Villars, in a letter written to the king of France, from the province of Languedoc, where he was lieutenant general, and dated the 11th of November, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the Cevennes, Huguenots, and this is the first time that this term is found, in the registers of that province applied to the protestants.

[e] See the *Histoire Eccles. des Eglises Reformées au Reyaume de France*, published at Antwerp in three volumes 8vo, in the year 1580, and supposed by many to have been written by Beza. The writers that have given the best accounts of the French reformed churches, their confession of faith, and their forms of worship and discipline, are enumerated by Kocherus, in his *Bibliotheca Theolog. Symbolicæ*, p. 299.

CENT. XVI SECT. III. PART II.

he renounced the Reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of popery. Perceiving, however, on the other hand, that it was not possible either to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors by the famous edict drawn up at *Nantes* in the year 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences [*f*], and a full security for the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges, without persecution or molestation from any quarter [*g*].

In England and Scotland.

XVI. The church of *Scotland* acknowledges as its founder John Knox, the disciple of Calvin; and, accordingly, from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rites, and form of ecclesiastical government established at *Geneva*. These it has always adhered to with the utmost uniformity, and maintained with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the last century the designs of those who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship, were publicly opposed by the force of arms [*h*].

A quite different constitution of things is observable in the church of *England*, which could never

☞ [*f*] This edict restored and confirmed, in the fullest terms, all the favours that had ever been granted to the protestants, by other princes, and particularly by Henry III. To these privileges others were also added, which had never been granted, nor even demanded before; such as a free admission to all employments of trust, honour, and profit; the establishing courts and chambers, in which the professors of the two religions were equal in number; and the permitting the children of protestants to be educated, without any molestation or constraint in the public universities.

[*g*] Benoit, *Histoire de l' Edit. de Nantes*, tom. i. lib. v. p. 200.—Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 409.—Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. vi.

[*h*] Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession.* part II. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 403.—☞ Dr. Mosheim alludes, in this passage, to the attempts made under the reign of Charles II. to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.

never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of *Geneva*, and which retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known, that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of *Rome*, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII. when, by the industrious zeal of Calvin, and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day [*i*]. Hence it happened, that when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, *Geneva* was acknowledged as a sister church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted and rendered the public rule of faith in *England*. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of *Geneva;* nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the Reformed. This difference, however, between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and, in the judgment even of Calvin, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgence, was, nevertheless, in after-ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental

[*i*] Loscheri *Hist. Motuum*, part II. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67. —Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 317.

trimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of *Great Britain*.

The rise of the Puritans.

XVII. The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal, must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of Queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in *Germany* [*k*]. Of these fugitive congregations

☞ [*k*] I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were *Sacramentarians* (for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist), and expelled from their cities such of the English Protestants as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany where the Reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort that the exiles were most numerous: and there began the contest and division which gave rise to that separation from the church of England which continues to this day. It is, however, a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the Reformation with their calling them the *Devil's Martyrs*. "Fociferantur quidam (says this amiable reformer) Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris, quos novi." These are the words of this truly Christian Reformer, in one of his letters to Camerarius, *Epist.* lib. iv. p. 959. and in another of his letters, speaking of the burning of Burgius at Paris, he thus severely censures Westphal's intolerant principles: "Tales viros ait Westphalus esse Diaboli Martyres. Hanc judicii perversitatem quis non detestetur?" *Ep.* lib. ii. p. 387. Such were the humane and liberal sentiments of Melancthon, which have rendered his name so precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation; while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations *de Indifferentismo Melancthonis*. N.

congregations *some* performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI.; while *others* preferred the Swiss method of worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called *Conformists*, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince now mentioned; and the denominations of *Non-conformists* and *Puritans* were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship, more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to *England*, when the auspicious succession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country. The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promoting each their respective systems, increased their contents instead of diminishing them; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model exhibited by the Protestants of *Geneva*, and their adherents to the *Puritans;* and, therefore, she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors, that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages [*l*]. When her plan was put

☞ [*l*] Mr. Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the primitive ages, to insinuate that Queen Elizabeth

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

put in execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous *Act of Uniformity* was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen as its supreme visible head upon earth. The *Puritans* refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal; and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not, indeed, all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done towards the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the church of *England* should be exactly modelled after that of *Geneva*. The milder and more moderate

zabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is, however certain, that, instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual *, and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the *real presence;* she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel †: and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed ‡. Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament **.

* Heylin, p. 124. † Id. ibid. ‡ Strype's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. ** Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 138.

derate Puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only desired liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect (as she was used to call it,) permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. This was that form of religion established in *Britain*, which separated the *English* equally from the church of *Rome*, on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery on the other: but which, at the same time, laid a perpetual foundation for dissensions and feuds, in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation [*m*].

The sentiments and doctrine of the Puritans.

XVIII. The incident that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the Puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration

[*m*] No writer has treated this part of the Ecclesiastical History of Britain in a more ample and elegant manner than Daniel Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, or Protestant Nonconformists, in four volumes 8vo. The first part of this laborious work was published at London, in the year 1732, and the latter part in 1738. The author, who was himself a non-conformist, has not indeed been able to impose silence so far on the warm and impetuous spirit of party, as not to discover a certain degree of partiality in favour of his brethren. For, while he relates, in the most circumstantial manner, all the injuries the puritans received from the bishops, and those of the established religion, he in many places diminishes, excuses, or suppresses, the faults and failings of these separatists. See also, for an account of the religious history of these times, Strype's *Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth*, viz. Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

bration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests, they appeared to the Puritans in no other light than as the ensigns of Antichrist. The spirit of opposition being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government, established in *England*, was one of the first and main grievances of which the Puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by Christ, the great lawgiver of the church; and, in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, maintained, that, by the divine law, all the ministers of the gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed think it unlawful, that a person, distinguished by the title of a *bishop*, or *superintendant*, should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked, as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on, however, with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right, purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, ventured to assert, that the order of bishops was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by

by the express appointment of God himself [*n*]. This doctrine was really adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character; and also maintained, that the clergy in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman catholic priests.

XIX. All these things exasperated the Puritans, whose complaints, however, were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against *cathedral* churches, and demanded the abolition of the *archdeacons*, *deans*, *canons*, and other *officials*, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great: for they were of opinion, that, not open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from

[*n*] See Strype's *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121. ☞ The first English Reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, *viz.* bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office; But Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's cross, January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

from the communion of the church [*o*]; and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing, that the church being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found, moreover, much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the order of the queen, and the authority of her council [*p*]; among these were the *festivals*

☞ [*o*] The Puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter addressed from their prison to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away their liberty, goods, lands, government private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life: and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

☞ [*p*] By this council our author means, the High Commission court, of which it is proper to give here some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the ecclesiastical history of England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the act of supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons "to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities whatsoever. Provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of Parliament, with the

festivals or *holidays* that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the *sign of the cross* more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living [*q*], and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay-baptism [*r*]. They disliked the reading

assent of the clergy in convocation." Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances abused their power. The court they composed, was called *The Court of High Commission*, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of Lord Cromwell, vicar general of Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make enquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries, and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath (not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*), by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's Histories of England, under the reign of Elizabeth, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, passim.

☞ [*q*] Other rites and customs displeasing to the Puritans, and omitted by our author, were, kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.

☞ [*r*] The words of the original are, "nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initari patiebantur." The Roman catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as absolutely necessary to salvation, allow consequently, of its being performed by a layman, or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay, (if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned) by a surgeon, where a still birth is apprehended

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

ing of the *apocryphal* books in the church; and, with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of *England* ought to have been modelled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of *Geneva*, and that no indulgence was to be shewn to those ceremonies or practices, which bore the smallest resemblance of the discipline or worship of the church of *Rome*.

The principles on which the Puritans maintained their sentiments concerning ecclesiastical government and divine worship.

XX. These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a complete refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the contending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the *Queen's commissioners* on the one hand, and the

apprehended. The church of England, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptize but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null baptism performed by laicks or women, because it makes a difference between what is essential to a sacrament, and what is requisite to the regular way of using it. The Puritans, that they might neither prescribe, nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

the *Puritans* on the other, were indeed very different.

For, in the *first place*, The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far: and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, as has been already observed.

Secondly, The Queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding, in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church, was not to be derived from the sacred writings *alone*, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The *Puritans*, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and *only* fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence *alone* that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship, of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

Thirdly, The Queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of *Rome was a true church*, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was, nevertheless, to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that the ministers ordained

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the *Puritans* entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as *Antichrist*, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

Fourthly, The court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the Form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The *Puritans* asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline [*s*]; and that the apostles, in establishing

☞ [*s*] By this they meant, at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the holy scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence.

establishing the first Christian church on the Aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish Sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model to be followed in all times, and in all places.

Lastly, The court reformers were of opinion, that things *indifferent*, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state. The Puritans alleged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose, as *necessary* and *indispensible*, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters *indifferent*; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty with which the divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as *indifferent*, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council [*t*].

XXI. This

quence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved, that all things necessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from holy scripture, yet that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

☞ [*t*] Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal, in his *History*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The Brownists a sect of the Puritans.

XXI. This contest between the commissioners of the court, and their opponents, who desired a more complete reformation than had yet taken place, would have been much more dangerous in its consequences, had that party, that was distinguished by the general denomination of *Puritans*, been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise. For this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and unanimous in nothing but their antipathy against the forms of doctrine and discipline that were established by law, was, all of a sudden, divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church-government. The most famous of all these sects was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by Robert Brown, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not differ, in point of doctrine, either from the church of *England*, or from the rest of the *Puritans;* but he had formed new and singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of

History of the Puritans. This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate, but of union, "Both parties (says he) agreed too well in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the Queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."

of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the apostles in the infancy of Christianity; and maintained, that such a number of persons, as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a church, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced independent, *jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government; and also from that of synods, which the Puritans regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congregation, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to order matters for the good of the whole society [*u*]. Hence all points both of doctrine and discipline were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected certain of the brethren to the office of pastors, to perform the duty of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship, reserving, however, to themselves the power of dismissing these

☞ [*u*] It is farther to be observed, that, according to this system, one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if they walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. On the other hand, the powers of their church officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of a church might not administer the sacrament of baptism, or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion.

these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever they should think such a change conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is, besides, to be observed, that their right of preaching was by no means of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone; since any member that thought proper to exhort or instruct the Brethren, was abundantly indulged in the liberty of *prophesying* to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor had finished his discourse, all the other Brethren were permitted to communicate in public, their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subject, on which they supposed they could throw new light. In a word, Brown aimed at nothing less than modelling the form of the church after that infant community that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important changes both in the religious and civil state of the world since that time, the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments, and the particular circumstances of the Christian church, in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and chimerical, the zeal with which he and his associates maintained and propagated them was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree. For he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies that were founded upon a different plan from his; and treated, more especially in the church of *England*, as a spurious church, whose ministers were

were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this hot-headed innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn upon them, from an administration that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence, retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at *Middleburg* in *Zealand*, and at *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*, in the province of *Holland*; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable [*x*]. Their founder returned into *England*, and having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church, and obtained a benefice [*y*]. The Puritan exiles, whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, split into parties, and their affairs declined from day to day [*z*]. This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigour of his uncharitable decisions; and hence arose the community of the *Independents* or *Congregational Brethren*, which still subsists, and of which

☞ [*x*] The British churches at *Amsterdam* and *Middleburg* are incorporated into the national Dutch church, and their pastors are members of the Dutch synod, which is sufficient to shew that there are at this time no traces of *Brownism* or *Independency* in these churches. The church at *Leyden*, where Robinson had fixed the standard of Independency about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is very remarkable, that a part of this church transplanting themselves into *America*, laid the foundation of the colony of *New England*.

☞ [*y*] Brown, in his new preferment, forgot, not only the rigour of his principles, but also the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 376.

[*z*] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. chap. vi.——Hoornbeckii *Summa Controvers.* lib. x. p. 738.——Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, book x. p. 168.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

which an account shall be given in the history of the following century.

The state of the reformed church in the Netherlands.

XXII. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the Reformation seemed for a long time uncertain, whether they should embrace the communion of the Swiss, or of the Lutheran church. Each of these had zealous friends and powerful patrons [*a*]. The matter was nevertheless, decided in the year 1571, and the religious system of Calvin was publicly adopted. For the Belgic confession of faith, which then appeared [*b*], was drawn up in the spirit, and almost in the terms, of that which was received in the Reformed churches in *France*, and differed considerably, in several respects, from the confession of *Augsburg*, but more especially in the article relating to Christ's presence in the eucharist [*c*]. This will not appear surprising to those who consider the vicinity of the French to the Low-countries; the number of French protestants that were constantly passing or sojourning there; the extraordinary reputation of Calvin, and of the academy of *Geneva;* as also, the indefatigable zeal of his disciples in extending the limits of their church, and propagating, throughout all *Europe*, their system of doctrine, discipline, and government. Be that as it may, from this period, the Dutch, who had before been denominated *Lutherans*, assumed universally the title of *Reformed*, in which also they imitated the French, by whom this title had been first invented and adopted. It is true, indeed, that, as long as they were subject to the Spanish yoke, the fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of

[*a*] Loscheri *Histor. Motuum.* part III. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.
[*b*] Kocheri *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*, p. 216.
[*c*] See Brandt's *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands* (written in Dutch), vol. i. book v. p. 253.

of that sovereign induced them to avoid the title of *Reformed*, and to call themselves *Associates of the Brethren of the Confession of Augsburg*. For the Lutherans were esteemed, by the Spanish court, much better subjects than the disciples of Calvin, who, on account of the tumults that had lately prevailed in *France*, were supposed to have a greater propensity to mutiny and sedition [*d*].

XXIII. The light of the Reformation was first brought from *Saxony* into *Poland* by the disciples of Luther. Some time after this happy period, the *Bohemian Brethren*, whom the Romish clergy had expelled from their country, as also several Helvetic doctors, propagated their sentiments among the Polanders. Some congregations were also founded in that Republic by the Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians, and other sectaries [*e*]. Hence it was, that three distinct communities, each of which adopted the main principles of the Reformation, were to be found in *Poland*, *viz.* the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and Swiss. These communities, in order to defend themselves with the greater vigour against their common enemies, formed among themselves a kind of confederacy, in a synod held at *Sendomir* in the year 1570, upon certain conditions, which were comprehended in the Confession of Faith, that derives its

And in Poland.

☞ [*d*] Dr. Mosheim advances this on the authority of a passage in Brandt's *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*, (p. 254, 255.) which is written in Dutch, and is indeed, a most curious and valuable work, notwithstanding the author's partiality towards the cause of Armenianism, of which he was one of the most respectable patrons.

[*e*] Loscheri *Hist. Motuum*, part III. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 36. —Salig. *Hist. Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii, iv, v. p. 516.—Regenvolcii *Hist. Eccles. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 71.—Salignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. v. p. 40.—Kantz, *Præcipua Relig. Evangel. in Polonia Fata*, published in 4to, at *Hamburgh*, in the year 1738.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

title from the city now mentioned [*f*]. But as this association seemed rather adapted to accelerate the conclusion of a peace than to promote the cause of truth, the points in debate between the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed* being expressed in this reconciling confession in vague and ambiguous terms, it was soon after this warmly opposed by many of the former, and was entirely annulled in the following century. Many attempts have, indeed, been made to revive it; but they have not answered the expectations of those who have employed their dexterity and zeal in this matter. In *Prussia* the *Reformed* gained ground after the death of Luther and Melancthon, and founded the flourishing churches that still subsist in that country [*g*].

The Bohemian Brethren.

XXIV. The *Bohemian*, or, as they are otherwise called, the *Moravian Brethren*, who descended from the better sort of Hussites, and were distinguished by several religious institutions of a singular nature, and well adapted to guard their community against the reigning vices and corruptions of the times, had no sooner heard of Luther's design of reforming the church, than they sent deputies in the year 1522, to recommend themselves to his friendship and good offices. In succeeding times, they continued to discover the same zealous attachment to the Lutheran churches in *Saxony*, and also to those that were founded in other countries. These offers could not be well accepted without a previous examination of their religious sentiments and principles. And, indeed, this

[*f*] See Dan. Ernest. Jablonsky, *Historia Consensus Sendomirensis*, published at *Berlin* in 4to, in the year 1731; as also the *Epistola Apologetica* of the same author, in defence of the work now mentioned, against the objections of an anonymous author.

[*g*] Loscherii *Historia Motuum*, part III. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 216.

this examination turned to their advantage; for neither Luther nor his disciples found any thing, either in their doctrine or discipline, that was, in any great measure liable to censure; and though he could not approve in every particular, of their *Confession of Faith*, which they submitted to his judgment, yet he looked upon it as an object of toleration and indulgence [*h*]. Nevertheless, the death of Luther, and the expulsion of these *Brethren* from their country in the year 1547, gave a new turn to their religious connections; and great numbers of them, more especially of those who retired into *Poland*, embraced the religious sentiments and discipline of the *Reformed*. The attachment of the Bohemians to the *Lutherans* seemed, indeed, to be revived by the *Convention of Sendomir*, already mentioned; but as the articles of union, that were drawn up in that assembly, lost all their force and authority in a little time, the Bohemians, by degrees, entered one and all into the communion of the Swiss church [*i*]. This union was at first formed on the express condition, that the two churches should continue to be governed by their respective laws and institutions, and should have separate places of public worship; but in the following century, all remains of dissension were removed in the synods held at *Astrog* in the year 1620 and 1627, and the two congregations were formed into one, under the title of *The Church of the United*

[*h*] See a German work of Carpzovius, entitled, *Nachricht vonden Bohmischen Brudern*, p. 46. as also Jo. Chr. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 76.

[*i*] Besides Comenius, Camerarius, and Lasitius, who have written professedly the History of the Bohemian Brethren, see Loscherii *Historia Motuum*, part III. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 99.—Salig. *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 520.—Ad. Regenvolscii *Hist. Eccles. Sclavonicæ*, lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

United Brethren. In this coalition the reconciled parties shewed to each other reciprocal marks of toleration and indulgence; for the external form of the church was modelled after the discipline of the *Bohemian Brethren*, and the articles of faith were taken from the creed of the *Calvinists* [*k*].

The Waldenses, Hungarians, and Transylvanians.

XXV. The descendants of the *Waldenses*, who lived shut up in the vallies of *Piedmont*, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the Republic of *Geneva*, to embrace the doctrines and rites of the *Reformed* church. So far down, however, as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but the plague that broke out that year having destroyed the greatest part of this unhappy people, and among the rest a considerable number of their pastors and clergy, they addressed themselves to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new doctors, sent from thence, made several changes in the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable, in every respect, with those of the protestant churches in *France* [*l*].

The Hungarians and Transylvanians were engaged to renounce the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome* by the writings of Luther, and the ministry of his disciples. But some time after Matthias Devay, and other doctors, began to introduce in a secret manner, among these nations, the doctrines of the Swiss churches in relation to the eucharist, as also their principles of ecclesiastical government. This doctrine and these principles, were propagated in a more open and

[*k*] Regenvolcius, *loc. citat.* lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120.

[*l*] Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206.—Abr. Sculetti *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294.—Dan. Gerdes, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 401.

and public manner towards the year 1550, by Szegedin and other Calvinist teachers, whose ministry was attended with remarkable success. This change was followed by the same dissensions that had broke out in other countries on like occasions; and these dissensions grew into an open schism among the friends of the Reformation in these provinces, which the lapse of time has rather confirmed than diminished [*m*].

Of the Lutheran churches that embraced Calvinism.

XXVI. After the solemn publication of the famous *Form of Concord*, of which an account has been already given, many German churches, of the Lutheran communion, dissolved their original bonds, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Calvin. Among these we may place the churches of Nassau, Hanau, and Isenberg, with several others of less note. In the year 1595, the princes of Anhalt, influenced by the councils of Wolfgang Amlingius, renounced also the profession of Lutheranism, and introduced into their dominions the religious tenets and rites of Geneva; this revolution, however, produced a long and warm controversy between the Lutherans and the inhabitants of the principality [*n*]. The doctrines of

[*m*] Pauli Debrezeni *Historia Eccles. Reform in Hungar. et Transylvan.* lib. ii. p. 64. 72. 98. *Unschuld. Nachrict.* A. 1738. p. 1076.—Georg. Haneri *Historia Eccles. Transylv.* published at *Francfort* in 12mo, in the year 1694.

[*n*] See for an account of this matter the German work of Bechman, which is thus entitled *Histoire des Hause Anhalt*, vol. ii. p. 133. and that of Kraft, which bears the title of *Ausferliche Historie von dem Exorcismo*, p. 428. 497. ☞ Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers in all the churches, where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals, that were attached to Lutheranism, had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The *Zerbst* line, with the greatest part of its subjects, profess Lutheranism; but the three other lines, with their respective territories, are Calvinists.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

of the Calvinist or Reformed church, more especially those that relate to the eucharist, were also introduced into *Denmark*, towards the conclusion of this century; for, in this kingdom, the disciples and votaries of Melancthon, who had always discovered a strong propensity to a union between the protestant churches, were extremely numerous, and they had at their head Nicholas Hemmingius, a man eminent for his piety and learning. But the views of this divine, and the schemes of his party, being discovered much sooner than they expected, by the vigilant defenders of the Lutheran cause, their plans were disconcerted [*o*], and the progress of Calvinism was successfully opposed by the Lutheran ministers, seconded by the countenance and authority of the sovereign [*p*].

The diversity that reigned among the various branches of the Reformed church.

XXVII. It must not, however, be imagined, that the different nations that embraced the communion of the Calvinist church, adopted, at the same time, without exception, all its tenets, rites, and institutions. This universal conformity was, indeed, ardently desired by the Helvetic doctors; but their desires, in this respect, were far from being accomplished. The English, as is sufficiently known, rejected the forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship that were adopted by the other Reformed churches, and could not be persuaded to receive, as public and national articles of faith, the doctrines that were propagated in *Switzerland*, in relation to the sacrament

[*o*] Erici Pontoppidani *Annal. Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 57.

☞ [*p*] That is, (for our author consistently with truth can mean no more) the designs, that were formed to render *Calvinism* the national and established religion, proved abortive. It is certain, however, that Calvinism made a very considerable progress in *Denmark*, and has still a great number of votaries in that kingdom.

sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the Divine decrees [*q*]. The protestants in *Holland*, *Bremen*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, and the Palatinate, followed, indeed, the French and Helvetic churches in their sentiments concerning the eucharist, in the simplicity of their worship, and in their principles of ecclesiastical polity; but not in their notions of *predestination*, which intricate doctrine they left undefined, and submitted to the free examination and private judgment of every individual [*r*]. It may farther be affirmed, that, before

☞ [*q*] It is true, indeed, that the doctrine of Zuingle, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external signs of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of *England*; but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the xxviiith article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Dr. Mosheim is equally mistaken: The xviith article of the church of *England* is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. Augustin's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin; and though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of Absolute Decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate, that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English Reformers, the greatest part of whom were, at least, *Sublapsarians*; in the reign of queen Elizabeth this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the Armenians contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called *Doctrinal Puritans*. See Burnet's *Exposition of the Seventeenth Article*, &c. and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 579.

[*r*] See Grotii *Apologet. eorum, qui Hollandiæ ante mutationem*, A. 1618, *præfuerunt*, cap. iii. p. 54. *Ed. Paris.* 1640, in 12mo.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

fore the synod of *Dort* [*s*], no Reformed church had obliged its members, by any special law, or article of faith, to adhere to the doctrine of the church of *Geneva* relating to the primary causes of the salvation of the elect, or the ruin of the reprobate. It is true indeed, that in the places now mentioned, the greatest part of the *Reformed* doctors fell by degrees, of their own accord, into the Calvinistical opinion concerning these intricate points; and this was principally owing, no doubt, to the great reputation of the academy of *Geneva*, which was generally frequented, in this century, by those among the Reformed who were candidates for the ministry.

The doctrine adopted by the Reformed churches.

XXVIII. The books of the Old and New Testament are regarded by the *Reformed* churches as the only sources of Divine Truth; it must however be observed, that, to their authority, the church of *England* adds that of the writings of the Fathers during the first five centuries [*t*]. The *Reformed* and the *Lutherans* agree in maintaining that the Holy Scriptures are infallible in all things; that, in matters of which the knowledge is necessary to salvation, they are clear, full and complete; and also that they are to be explained by

☞ [*s*] It was in this famous synod, that was assembled in the year 1618, and of which we shall have occasion to give a more ample account in the history of the following century, that the doctrine of Calvin was fixed as the national and established religion of the Seven United Provinces.

☞ [*t*] There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of *England*, which implies its considering the writings of the Fathers of the first five centuries, as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is, indeed, a clause in the *Acts of Uniformity*, passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so by the authority of scripture, or by the first four general councils; and this has perhaps misled Dr. Mosheim in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect, indeed, and perhaps too much, has been paid to the Fathers; but that has been always a matter of *choice*, and not of *obligation*.

by themselves, and not either by the dictates of human reason, or the decisions of the ancient Fathers. Several of the doctors among the former have indeed employed too freely the sagacity of their natural understanding, in explaining those divine mysteries that are contained in the Gospel; and this circumstance has induced many to imagine, that the *Reformed* adopted two sources of religion, two criterions of divine truth, *viz.* the Holy Scripture and Human Reason. But perhaps it will be found, that, in this respect doctors of *both* communions have sometimes gone too far, being led on by the spirit of controversy, and animated with the desire of victory. For, if we except the singular tenets of some individuals, it may be affirmed with truth, that the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed* are unanimous in the matter now under consideration. They both maintain, that contradictory propositions cannot be the objects of faith; and consequently that all doctrines that contain ideas and notions that are repugnant to, and mutually destroy each other, must be false and incredible. It is true, indeed, that the *Reformed* sometimes use this principle in a contentious manner, to overturn certain points of the Lutheran system, which they have thought proper to reject [*u*].

XXIX. The *Reformed*, if by this denomination we understand those who embrace the sentiments of Calvin, differ entirely from the *Lutherans* in the following points:

The points in which the Reformed and Lutherans disagree.

1*st*, In their notions of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The *Lutherans* affirms that the body

☞ [*u*] Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, which supposes the same extended body to be totally present in different places at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense, than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.

body and blood of Christ are *materially present* in this sacrament, though in an incomprehensible manner; and that they are *really* exhibited, both to the righteous and the wicked, to the worthy and to the unworthy receiver. The *Reformed* hold, on the contrary, that the man Christ is only present in this ordinance by the external signs of bread and wine; though it must, at the same time be observed, that this matter is differently explained and represented in the writings of their doctors.

2dly, In their doctrine of the *eternal decrees of God, respecting man's salvation.* The *Lutherans* maintain, that the *divine decrees* respecting the salvation or misery of men are founded upon a *previous knowledge* of their sentiments and characters; or, in other words, that God, foreseeing from all eternity the faith or incredulity of different persons, had reserved eternal happiness for the faithful, and eternal misery for the unbelieving and disobedient. The *Reformed* entertain different sentiments concerning this intricate point. They consider the divine decrees as *free* and *unconditional*, and as founded on the *will of God*, which is limited by no superior order, and which is above all laws.

3dly, Concerning *some religious rites and institutions*, which the *Reformed* consider as bordering upon superstition, or tending, at least to promote it; while the *Lutherans* view them in another light, and represent all of them as *tolerable*, and some of them as *useful*. Such are the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of *exorcism* in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment. The *Reformed* doctors insist on the abolition of all these rites and institutions; and that

that upon this general principle, that the discipline and worship of the Christian church ought to be restored to their primitive simplicity, and freed from the human inventions and additions that were employed by superstition in the times of ignorance, to render them more striking to the deluded multitude.

The moment and importance of these differences.

XXX. The few heads of difference, between the two communions, which have been now briefly pointed out, have furnished an inexhaustible fund of controversy to the contending parties, and been drawn out into a multitude of intricate questions, and subjects of debate, that, by consequences, fairly or injudiciously deduced, have widened the scene of contention, and extended to almost all the important truths of religion. Thus the debate concerning the *manner in which the body and blood of* Christ *are present in the Eucharist*, opened to the disputants a large field of inquiry; in which the nature and fruits of the institutions called *Sacraments*, the majesty and glory of Christ's *humanity*, together with the *communication* of the divine perfections to it, and that inward frame of spirit that is required in the worship that is addressed to the divine Saviour, were carefully examined. In like manner, the controversy, which had for its object *the divine decrees*, led the doctors, by whom it was carried on, into the most subtile and profound researches concerning the nature of the divine attributes, particularly those of *justice* and *goodness;* the doctrines of *fate* or *necessity;* the connection between *human liberty* and *divine prescience;* the extent of God's love to mankind, and of the benefits that arise from the merits of Christ as mediator; the operations of that divine spirit, or power, that rectifies the wills and sanctifies the affections of men; the perseverance of the *elect* in their covenant with God, and in a state of salvation; and other

other points of great moment and importance. The subject of debate, that was drawn from the *use of certain external rites and ceremonies* in religious worship, was also productive of several questions and enquiries. For besides the researches into the origin and antiquity of certain institutions to which it gave occasion, it naturally led to a discussion of the following important questions: *viz.* "What are the special marks that characterize things INDIFFERENT?—How far is it lawful to comply with the demands of an adversary, whose opposition is only directed against things esteemed indifferent in their own nature?—What is the extent of Christian liberty?—Whether or no it be lawful to retain, in condescension to the prejudices of the people, or with a view to their benefit, certain ancient rites and institutions, which although they carry a superstitious aspect, may nevertheless be susceptible of a favourable and rational interpretation?

To whom the right of governing the church belongs.

XXXI. It has always been a question much debated among protestants, and more especially in *England* and *Holland*, where it has excited great commotions and tumults, *to whom the right of governing the church, and the power of deciding in religious matters, properly belong?* This controversy has been determined in favour of those who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religious doctrine, discipline, and government, is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be intrusted with, or exercised by the civil magistrate: while, at the same time, they grant, that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and by his authority, to confirm the validity, and secure the execution, of the ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of Henry VIII. the kings of *England* consider themselves as *supreme heads of the church*, and that in relation to *its spiritual, as well as its temporal concerns;* and it is plain enough, that, on the strength of this important title, both Henry VIII. and his son Edward assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual power, as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff [*w*]. But Queen Elizabeth receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of her successors, by declaring that the jurisdiction of the kings of *England* extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; and to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone subject to their civil authority [*x*]. Accordingly, we see that the constitution of the church of *England* resembles perfectly that of the state, and that there is a striking analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy, consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of *Canterbury*, in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well-being of the church; these measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation

[*w*] See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 11.

[*x*] See Courayel, Supplement aux deux Ouvrages pour le Defense de la validite des Ordinations Anglicanes, chap. xv. p. 486.

☞ This must be understood with many restrictions, if it can be at all admitted. The whole tenor of Queen Elizabeth's reign shewed plainly that she did not pretend to less power in religious matters than any of her predecessors.

probation and authority the force of laws [*y*]. But it must be acknowledged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate; nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogatives of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another. The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in *England* has never acquired a stable and consistent form, nor been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by ancient custom and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions.

The form of ecclesiastical government among the Reformed.

XXXII. If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix the form of ecclesiastical government in which this power was to be administered. Many vehement disputes were kindled on this subject, which neither the lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have been able to bring to an amicable issue. The Republic of *Geneva*, in consequence of the councils of Calvin, judged it proper that the particular affairs of each church should be directed by a body of elders, or *presbyters*, all invested with an equal degree of power and authority; that matters of a more public and important nature were to be submitted

☞ [*y*] Jo. Cosinus, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, in the learned Thomas Smith's *Vitæ Eruditiss. Virorum*, published at *London* in 4to, in the year 1707.—See also Dav. Wilkins, *De Veteri et Moderna Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*, tom. i. *Concil. Magn. Britann.* p. vii.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i, p. 2, 3, 15, 132.

mitted to the judgment of an assembly, or synod, composed of elders chosen as deputies by the churches of a whole province or district; and that all affairs of such extensive influence and high moment, as concerned the welfare of the sacred community in general, should be examined and decided, as in times of old, by a general assembly of the whole church. This form of ecclesiastical government the church of *Geneva* adopted for itself [z], and left no intreaties or methods of persuasion unemployed, that might recommend it to the other reformed churches with which they lived in fraternal communion. But it was obstinately

☞ [z] The account Dr. Mosheim gives here and above (sect. XII. of this chapter) of the form of Ecclesiastical Government established by Calvin at *Geneva*, is far from being accurate. There are but two ecclesiastical bodies in that Republic, viz. the venerable company of the pastors and professors, and the consistory; for a just description of which, see the judicious Mr. Keate's 'Short Account of the Ancient History, present Government, and laws of the Republic of *Geneva*,' printed for Dodsley, in the year 1761, p. 110, 112, 121, 124.—I would only remark, that what this sensible author observes, with respect to the Consistory, p. 124. of his interesting performance, belongs principally, if not wholly, to the Venerable Company.—Dr. Mosheim seems to have been led into this mistake, by imagining that the ecclesiastical form of Government established in *Scotland*, where indeed all church affairs are managed by consistorial, provincial, and national assemblies, or, in other words, by presbyters, synods, and general synods, was a direct transcript of the hierarchy of *Geneva*. It is also probable, that he may have been deceived by reading in Neal's History of the Puritans, that the Scottish reformers approved of the discipline of the reformed churches of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, and followed their plan of ecclesiastical government. But he ought to have observed, that his approbation and imitation related only to the democratical form of the church of *Geneva*, and the parity of its ministers. Be that as it may, the plan of government, which our historian here supposes to have place at *Geneva*, is in reality that which is observed in *Scotland*, and of which no more than the first and fundamental principles were taken from the discipline of Calvin. The small territory of *Geneva* would not admit of such a form of ecclesiastical polity as Dr. Mosheim here describes.

nately rejected by the English clergy, who regarded as sacred and immutable that ancient form of spiritual government, according to which a certain district or *diocese* is committed to the care and inspection of one ruler or bishop, to whom the *presbyters* of each church are subject, as also the *deacons* are to the *presbyters;* while those affairs that concerned the general interests of the church are treated in an assembly of bishops, and of such ecclesiastics as are next to them in rank and dignity. This form of episcopal polity was, with some small exceptions, adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren [*a*], who were become one of the Reformed churches; but it was highly displeasing to those among the protestants, who had embraced the sentiments and discipline of Calvin. The dissensions, occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; and that so much the more as each of the contending parties pretended to derive their respective plan from the injunctions of Christ, and the practice of his disciples. And in effect, it divided the English nation into two parties, who, during a long time, treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism, however, which did such mischief in *England*, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal, or interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of *England* and the Reformed churches abroad. The worthy men, that thus set bounds to the influence

[*a*] See Epist. de Ordinat. et Successione Episcopal. in unitate Fratrum Bohem. conservata, in Christ. Matth. Pfaffi Institution. Juris Eccles. p. 410.

ence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made by the suggestions of bigotry, to their charitable purpose. To maintain, however, the bonds of union between the episcopal church of *England* and the presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends nevertheless to the preservation of external concord among the *Reformed*, viz. "That Jesus Christ has left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external "form of government, that is to be observed in "his church; and consequently, that every nation hath a right to establish such a Form, as "seemeth conducive to the interests, and suitable "to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigences of the community, provided that such "an establishment be in no respect prejudicial "to truth, or favourable to the revival of superstition [*b*]."

The state of church discipline.

XXXIII. It was the opinion of Calvin, not only that flagitious and profligate members were to be cut off from the sacred society, and excluded from the communion of the church, but also that men of dissolute and licentious lives were punishable by the laws of the state, and the arm of the civil magistrate. In this he differed entirely from Zuingle, who, supposing that all authority, of every kind, was lodged in the hands of the magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the church the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion, or withholding from them the participation of its sacraments.

[*b*] See *Spanhemii Opera*, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1055. This was the general opinion of the British divines that lived in the earliest period of the Reformation, and was first abandoned by Archbishop Whitgift. See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, tom. iii. p. 140.

ments [*c*]. But the credit and influence of Calvin were so great at *Geneva*, that he accomplished his purpose, even in the face of a formidable opposition from various quarters. He established the severest rules of discipline to correct the licentious manners of the times, by which he exposed himself to innumerable perils from the malignity and resentment of the dissolute, and to perpetual contests with the patrons of voluptuousness and immorality. He executed, moreover, these rules of discipline with the utmost rigour, had them strengthened and supported by the authority of the state, excluded obstinate offenders from the communion of the church, by the judicial sentence of the *Consistory*, and event went so far as to procure their banishment from the city; not to mention other kinds of punishment, of no mild nature, which, at his desire, were inflicted upon men of loose principles and irregular lives [*d*]. The

[*c*] See a remarkable letter of Rud. Gualtieri, in Fueslin's *Centuria* I. *Epistolarum à Reformatoribus Helveticis scriptarum*, p. 478. where he expresses himself thus: "Excommunicationem neque Zuinglius ... neque Bullingerus umquam probarunt, et ... obstiterunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere ... Basileæ quidem Oecolampadius, multum dissuadente Zuinglio, instituerat ... sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Oecolampadius illam abrogarit," &c. See also p. 90.

[*d*] Of all the undertakings of Calvin, there was none that involved him in so much trouble, or exposed him to such imminent danger, as the plan he had formed, with such resolution and fortitude, of purging the church, by the exclusion of obstinate and scandalous offenders, and inflicting severe punishments on all such as violated the laws, enacted by the church, or by the Consistory, which was its representative. See "The Life of Calvin," composed by Beza, and prefixed to his Letters.—Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, and particularly the notes, tom. ii. p. 45, 65.—Calvin's Letters, and more especially those addressed to Jaques de Bourgogne, published at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in the year 1744, p. 126, 127, 132, 153, 157.—The party at *Geneva*, which Calvin called the sect of Libertines, (because they defended the licentious customs of ancient times, the erection of stews, and such like matters, not only by their discourse and their actions, but even by force of arms), was

The clergy in *Switzerland* were highly pleased with the form of church-government that had been established at *Geneva*, and ardently desirous of a greater degree of power to restrain the insolence of obstinate sinners, and a larger share of authority in the church, than they were intrusted with by the ecclesiastical constitution of Zuingle. They *devoutly* wished that the discipline of Calvin might be followed in their *Cantons*, and even made some attempts for that purpose. But their desires and their endeavours were equally vain; for the Cantons of *Bern*, *Zurich*, and *Basil*, distinguished themselves among the others in opposing this change, and would by no means permit the bounds, that Zuingle had set to the jurisdiction of the church, to be removed, nor its power and authority to be augmented, in any respect [*e*].

The state of learning among the Reformed.

XXXIV. All the various branches of learning, whether sacred or profane, flourished among the Reformed during this century, as appears evidently by the great number of excellent productions which have been transmitted to our times. Zuingle, indeed, seemed disposed to exclude philosophy from the pale of the church [*f*]; but in this inconsiderate purpose he had few followers, and the succeeding doctors of the Helvetic church

was both numerous and powerful. But the courage and resolution of this great reformer gained the ascendant, and triumphed over the opposition of his enemies.

[*e*] See the account of the tumults and commotions of Lausanne, in the *Museum Helveticum*. tom. ii. p. 119.—The disputes that were carried on upon this occasion, in the Palatinate, which adopted the ecclesiastical discipline of *Geneva*, are recorded by Altingius, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* and by Struvius, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat. German.* p. 212.

[*f*] Zuingle, in the dedication of his book, *De vera et falsa Religione*, to Francis I. king of *France*, expresses himself in the following terms: "Philosophiæ interdictum est a Christi Scholis: at isti (Sorbonistæ) fecerunt eam cœlestis verbi magistram."

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

were soon persuaded of the necessity of philosophical knowledge, more especially in controversies, and researches of a theological kind. Hence it was, that in the year 1588, an academy was founded at *Geneva* by Calvin, whose first care was to place in this new seminary a professor of philosophy for the instruction of youth in the principles of reasoning. It is true, indeed, that this professor had a very limited province assigned him, being obliged to confine his instructions to a mere interpretation of the precepts of Aristotle, who at this time were the oracle of all the public schools [*g*], and whose philosophical principles and method were exclusively adopted by all the other reformed academies; though it is certain, that the philosophy of Ramus was, for some time, preferred by many of the doctors of *Basil* to that of the Stagirite [*h*].

The interpreters and commentators of scripture.

XXXV. The *Reformed* church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place [*i*] in the history of theological science. The exposition that Zuingle has given of the greatest part of the books of the New Testament is far from being destitute

[*g*] Beza, in his *Epistolæ Theologicæ* (ep. xxxvi. p. 156.), speaks thus: "Certam nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

[*h*] See Casp. Brandtii *Vita Jacobi Arminii*, p. 12, 13, 22.

☞ [*i*] Dr. Mosheim pays a tribute to these great men of the Reformed church, that seems to be extorted by justice, with a kind of effort, from the spirit of party. He says, that Zuingle's labours are not contemptible: that Calvin attempted an illustration of the sacred writings; that the New Testament of Beza has not, even at this day, entirely lost the reputation it formerly enjoyed. This is faint praise: and therefore the translator has, without departing from the tenor of the author's phraseology, animated a little the coldness of his panegyric.

destitute of merit [*k*]. He was succeeded by Bullinger, Oecolampadius, and Musculus, and also by others, who, though inferior to these great men in erudition and genius, deserve nevertheless a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines who shone with a superior and unrivalled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors, were John Calvin, and Theodore Beza. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of Holy Writ; and the latter published a Latin Version of the *New Testament*, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed through many editions, and enjoys, at this day, a considerable part of the reputation and applause with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowledged, to the honour of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations and mystical meanings that the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of Holy Writ, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense, the full energy of the words of scripture, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer. It must, however, be observed, on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies that point to the Messiah, and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the

☞ [*k*] It was not only on the books of the New Testament that Zuingle employed his very learned and excellent labours. He expounded the book of Genesis, together with the twenty-four first chapters of Exodus, and gave new versions of the Book of Psalms, of the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the gospel [*l*].

The theological doctrine of the Reformed church.

XXXVI. The state of theology, and the revolutions it underwent among the Helvetic and the other Reformed churches, were pretty much the same with what it met with among the Lutherans. Zuingle was one of the first reformed doctors who reduced that sacred science into a certain sort of order, in his book *Concerning true and false Religion*, which contained a brief exposition of the principal doctors of Christianity. This production was followed by one much more comprehensive in its contents, and perfect in its kind, composed by Calvin, and entitled, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which held in the Reformed churches the same rank, authority, and credit, that the *Loci communes* of Melancthon obtained among us [*m*]. The example of Calvin animated the doctors of his Communion, and produced a great number of writers of *Common Place Divinity*, some more, others less voluminous, among which Musculus, Peter Martyr, and Piscator particularly excelled. The most ancient of these writers are, generally speaking, the best, on account of their simplicity and clearness, being untainted with that affectation of subtilty, and that scholastic spirit, that have eclipsed the merit of many a good genius. Calvin was a model in this respect, more especially in his *Institutes;* a work remarkable for the finest elegance of style, and the greatest ease and perspicuity of expression, together with the most perfect simplicity of method, and clearness of argument. But this simplicity was soon effaced by the intricate science of the

[*l*] See Ægidii Hunnii *Calvinus Judaizans,* published at *Wittemberg*, in 8vo, in the year 1595, which was refuted by David Pareus, in a book published the same year, under the title of *Calvinus Orthodoxus.*

☞ [*m*] The reader must not forget that the learned author of this History is a Lutheran.

the schools. The philosophy of Aristotle, which was taught in almost all the seminaries of learning, and suffered much from falling into bad hands, insinuated itself into the regions of theology, and rendered them barren, thorny, intricate, and gloomy, by the enormous multitude of barbarous terms, captious questions, minute distinctions, and useless subtilties, that followed in its train [*n*].

XXXVII. The

[*n*] It must however be acknowledged, that the scholastic method of teaching theology seems to have first infected our (the Lutheran) church, though the contagion spread itself, soon after, among the reformed doctors. It was certainly very recent in *Holland* at the time of the famous synod of *Dort*. In this assembly Maccovius, professor at *Franeker*, a man deeply versed in all the mysteries of the scholastic philosophy, was accused of heresy by his colleague Sibrand Lubbert. When the matter was examined, the synod gave it as their opinion, that Maccovius was unjustly accused of heresy; but that, in his divinity lectures, he had not followed that simplicity of method, and clearness of expression, that are commendable in a public teacher of Christianity; and that he rather followed the subtile manner of the scholastic doctors, than the plain and unaffected phraseology of the inspired writers. The decision of the synod is expressed by Walter Balcanqual (in the acts of that ecclesiastical assembly that are subjoined to his letters to Sir Dudley Carleton in the following words: "Maccovium . . . nullius hæreseos reum teneri . . . peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris scholasticis phrasibus usus sit: Quod scholasticum docendi modum conetur in Belgicis academiis introducere . . . Monendum esse eum, ut cum spiritu sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio *". These admonitions produced but little effect on Maccovius, as appears by his theological writings, which are richly seasoned with scholastic wit and intricate speculations. He therefore appears to have been the first who introduced the subtilties of philosophy into the theological system of the Reformed churches in *Holland*. He was not, however, alone in this attempt, but was seconded by the acute Mr. William Ames, minister of the English church at the *Hague*, and several others of the same scholastic turn. This method of teaching theology must have been in use among almost all the reformed doctors before the synod of *Dort*, if we give credit to Episcopius, who, in the last discourse he addressed

* See the Acta Synodi Dord. in Hale's Golden Remtins, p. 161.—and Philippi Limborchii Epistolar. Ecclesiasticar. Collect. p. 574.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The state of practical divinity or morality.

XXXVII. The Reformed doctors of this century generally concluded their treatises of didactic theology with a delineation of the moral duties that are incumbent upon Christians, and the rules of practice that are prescribed in the gospel. This method was observed by Calvin, and was followed, out of respect for his example, by almost all the divines of his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, towards the conclusion of his *Institutes*, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and the ends of civil government; and in the last chapter gives the portraiture of the *life and manners of a true Christian*, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity, and importance of the subject seemed to require. The progress of morality among the Reformed, was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among the Lutherans. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and while every pen was drawn to maintain certain *systems of doctrine*, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has *virtue*, *life*, and *manners* for its objects.

This

addressed to his disciples at *Leyden*, tells them that he had carefully avoided this scholastic divinity; and that this was the principal cause that had drawn on him the vehement hatred and opposition of all the other professors and teachers of theology. His words are as follow: "Videbam veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsa scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis vocularum fictionibus, locorum communium, artificiusis texturis, exquisitus terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adeo involutam, perplexam et intricatam redditam esse, ut Oedipo sæpe opus esset ad Sphingem illam theologicam enodandam. Ita est, ut hinc primæ lacrymæ—Reducendam itaque terminorum apostolicorum et cuivis obviorum simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandas, quas academiæ et scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vendicant, logicas, philosophicasque speculationes et dictiones." See Philippi Limborchii *Vita Episcopii*, p. 123, 124.

This master-science, which Calvin and his associates had left in a rude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by William Perkins [*o*], an English divine, as the Reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in this laudable undertaking by Telingius, a native of *Holland*, whose writings were composed in the Dutch language. It was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that William Ames, a native of *Scotland*, and professor of divinity at *Franeker* [*p*], was engaged to compose a complete Body of Christian Morality [*q*]. These writers

☞ [*o*] Mr. William Perkins was born at *Marston*, in *Warwickshire*, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow. He was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and non-conforming principles exposed him to the cognizance of the High Commission Court; but his peaceable behaviour, and eminent reputation in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the 44th year of his age.

☞ [*p*] Dr. William Ames, educated at *Cambridge*, under Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the States of *Friesland* to the divinity chair in the University of *Franeker*, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years, after which he removed to *Rotterdam*, at the invitation of an English church there, and became their pastor. He was at the synod of *Dort*, and informed King James' ambassador at the *Hague*, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Besides his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following: *Medulla Theologiæ* (the work here referred to by Dr. Mosheim);—*Manuductio Logica*;—*Cases of Conscience*;—*Analysis on the Book of Psalms*;—*Notes on the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter, &c.* These productions are not void of merit, considering the times in which they were written.

☞ [*q*] In the Dedication and Preface of his famous book *De Conscientia et ejus jure*, Dr. Ames observes (*Præfat.* p. 3.) that

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

writers were succeeded by others, who still threw farther light on this important science.

The contests of Calvin with the Spiritual Libertines.

XXXVIII. The Reformed church was less disturbed, during this century, by sects, divisions, and theological disputes, than the Lutheran, which was often a prey to the most unhappy dissensions. This circumstance is looked upon by the former, as a matter of triumph, though it may be very easily accounted for by all such as are acquainted with the History of the Reformed Church [*s*]. We have, however, in the writings of Calvin, an account, and also a refutation, of a most pernicious sect that sprung up in that church, and produced troubles of a more deplorable kind than any that happened in our community [*s*]. This odious sect, which assumed the denominations of *Libertines*, and *Spiritual Brethren and Sisters*, arose in *Flanders*, was headed by Pockesius, Ruffus, and Quintin, got a certain footing in *France* through the favour and protection of Margaret, queen of *Navarre*, and sister to Francis I. and found patrons in several of the Reformed

that an excessive zeal for doctrine had produced an unhappy neglect of morality, "Quod hæc pars prophetiæ (i. e. morality) hactenus minus fuerit exculta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnaae, fidem propugnare, et aream ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet." The address to the students of Franeker, which is subjoined to this book, under the title of Parænesis ad Studiosos, &c. deserves to be perused, as it confirms farther what has been already observed with respect to the neglect of the science of morality. "Theologi (says he) præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui parties, si dogmata tantum intelligant.—Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

☞ [*r*] Dr. Mosheim ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution.

☞ [*s*] Why all these comparisons? Our author seems, on some occasions, to tinge his historical relation with the spirit of party.

Reformed churches [*t*]. Their doctrine, as far as it can be known by the writings of Calvin and its other antagonists, (for these fanatics published no account of their tenets that is come to my knowledge), amounted to the following propositions: "That the Deity was the sole *operating* "*cause* in the mind of man, and the immediate "*author* of all human actions; that, consequently, "the distinctions of *good* and *evil*, that had been "established with respect to these actions, were "false and groundless, and that men could not, "properly speaking, commit sin; that religion "consisted in the union of the spirit, or rational "soul, with the Supreme Being; that all those "who had attained this happy union, by sublime "contemplation and elevation of mind, were "then allowed to indulge, without exception or "restraint, their appetites and passions; that all "their actions and pursuits were then perfectly "innocent; and that, after the death of the body, "they were to be united to the Deity." These extravagant tenets resemble, in such a striking manner, the opinions of the *Beghards*, or *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, that it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that the *Libertines*, or *Spirituals*, now under consideration, were no more than a remnant of that ancient sect. The place of their origin confirms this hypothesis; since it is well known, that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Flanders* almost swarmed with licentious fanatics of this kind.

And with the Libertines of Geneva.

XXXIX. We must not confound, as is frequently done, with these fanatics, another kind of *Libertines*, whom Calvin had to combat, and who gave him much trouble and perplexity during the whole course of his life and ministry, I mean the

[*t*] See "Calvini Instructio adversus fanaticum et furiosam sectam Libertinorum, qui se spirituales vocant, in Tractatibus ejus Theologicis."

the *Libertines of Geneva.* These were rather a cabal of rakes than a sect of fanatics. For they made no pretences to any religious system, but pleaded only for the liberty of leading voluptuous and immoral lives. This cabal was composed of a certain number of licentious citizens, who could not bear the severe discipline of Calvin, who punished with rigour, not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned in their city before the Reformation, pleaded for the continuance of those brothels, banquetings, and other entertainments of a sensual kind, which the regulations of Calvin were designed to abolish, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, all the powers of faction, to accomplish their purpose [*u*]. In this turbulent cabal there were several persons, who were not only notorious for their dissolute and scandalous manner of living, but also for their atheistical impiety and contempt of all religion. Of this odious class was Gruet, who attacked Calvin with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him bishop *Asculanensis*, the new pope, and branding him with other contumelious denominations of a like nature. This Gruet, denied the Divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference between moral good and evil, and rejected, with disdain, the doctrines that are held the most sacred among Christians; for which impieties he was at last brought before the civil tribunals, in the year 1550, and was condemned to death [*w*].

XL. The

[*u*] Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 44. in the Notes of the editor, in the edition in 12mo. published at *Geneva* in 1730.

[*w*] Id. tom. ii. p. 47. in the Notes.

Calvin's disputes with Castalio;

XL. The opposition that was made to Calvin did not end here. He had contests of another kind to sustain against those who could not relish his theological system, and, more especially, his melancholy and discouraging doctrine in relation to *eternal* and *absolute Decrees*. These adversaries felt, by a disagreeable experience, the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction that arose from an overjealous concern for his honour, or rather for his unrivalled supremacy. He would not suffer them to remain at *Geneva;* nay, in the heat of the controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his passions, he accused them of crimes, from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgment of unprejudiced posterity [*x*]. Among these victims of Calvin's unlimited power and excessive zeal, we may reckon Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at *Geneva*, who, though not exempt from failings [*y*], was nevertheless a man of probity, and was also remarkable for the extent of his learning, and the elegance of his taste. As this learned man could not approve of all the measures that were followed, nor indeed of all the opinions that were entertained by Calvin and his colleagues, and particularly that of absolute and unconditional predestination, he was deposed from his office in the

[*x*] At this day, we may venture to speak thus freely of the rash decisions of Calvin, since even the doctors of *Geneva*, as well as those of the other reformed churches, ingenuously acknowledge that the eminent talents and excellent qualities of that great man were accompanied with great defects, for which, however, they plead indulgence, in consideration of his services and virtues. See the *Notes* to Spon's *Histoire de Geneva*, tom. ii. p. 110. as also the Preface to *Calvin's Letters* to Jaques de Bourgogne, p. 19.

☞ [*y*] See *Bayle's Dictionary*, at the article *Castalio*, in which the merit and demerit of that learned man seem to be impartially and accurately examined.

year 1544, and banished the city. The magistrates of *Basil* received, nevertheless, this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university [z].

with Bolsec,

XLI. A like fate happened to Jerom Bolsec, a French monk of the Carmelite order, who, though much inferior to Castalio in genius and learning, was nevertheless judged worthy of esteem, on account of the motive that brought him to *Geneva;* for it was a conviction of the excellence of the protestant religion that engaged him to abandon the monastic retreats of superstition, and to repair to this city, where he followed the profession of physic. His imprudence, however, was great, and was the principal cause of the misfortunes that befel him. It led him, in the year 1551, to lift up his voice in the full congregation, after the conclusion of divine worship, and to declaim, in the most indecent manner, against the doctrine of *absolute Decrees:* for which he was cast into prison, and, soon after, sent into banishment. He then returned to the place of his nativity, and to the communion of *Rome*, and published the most bitter and slanderous libels, in which the reputation, conduct, and morals of Calvin and Beza were cruelly attacked [a]. From this treatment of Bolsec arose the misunderstanding between Calvin and Jaques de Bourgogne, a man illustrious by his descent from the dukes of *Burgundy*, who was Calvin's great patron and intimate friend, and who had settled at *Geneva* with no other view than to enjoy the pleasure

[z] See Uytenbogard's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, part II. p. 70—73, where that author endeavours to defend the innocence of Castalio. See also Colomesii *Italia Orientalis*, p. 99.—*Bayle's Dict.* tom. i. p. 792.

[a] See *Bayle's Dict.* at the article *Bolsec.*—Spon's *Hist. de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 55. in the *Notes.*—*Biblioth. Raisonnée*, tom. xxxii. p. 446. tom. xxxiv. p. 409.

pleasure of conversing with him. Jaques de Bourgogne had employed Bolsec as his physician, and was so well satisfied with his services, that he endeavoured to support him, and to prevent his being ruined by the enmity and authority of Calvin. This incensed the latter to such a degree, that he turned the force of his resentment against this illustrious nobleman, who, to avoid his vengeance, removed from *Geneva*, and passed the remainder of his days in a rural retreat [*b*].

and with Ochinus.

XLII. Bernardin Ochinus, a native of *Sienna*, and, before his conversion, general of the order of Capuchins, was, in the year 1543, banished from *Switzerland*, in consequence of a sentence passed upon him by the Helvetic church. This proselyte, who was a man of a fertile imagination, and a lively and subtile turn of mind, had been invited to *Zurich* as pastorr of the Italian church established in that city. But the freedom, or rather the licentiousness, of his sentiments, exposed him justly to the displeasure of those who had been his patrons and protectors. For, among many other opinions very different from those that were commonly received, he maintained that the law, which confined a husband to one wife, was susceptible of exceptions in certain cases. In his writings also he propagated several notions that were repugnant, to the theological system of the Helvetic doctors, and pushed his enquiries into many subjects of importance, with a boldness and freedom that were by no means suitable to the genius and spirit of the age in which he lived. Some have, however, undertaken his defence, and have alleged in his behalf, that the errors he maintained at the time of his banishment, (when,

[*b*] See *Letters de* Calvin *à Jaques de Bourgogne,* Preface, p. 8.—*La Bibliotheque Raisonnée,* tom. xxxiv. p. 414. tom. xxxiv. p. 406.

worn out with age, and oppressed with poverty, he was rather an object of compassion, than of resentment), were not of such a heinous nature as to justify so severe a punishment. However that may have been, this unfortunate exile retired into *Poland*, where he embraced the communion of the Anti-trinitarians and Anabaptists [*c*], and ended his days in the year 1564 [*d*].

The controversy between the Church of England and the Puritans.

XLIII. It is remarkable enough, that those very doctors, who animadverted with such severity upon all those who dared to dissent from any part of their theological system, thought proper, nevertheless, to behave with the greatest circumspection, and the most pacific spirit of mildness, in the long controversy that was carried on with such animosity between the *Puritans*, and the abettors of *episcopacy* in *England*. For if, on the one

[*c*] Boverii *Annales Capucinorum.*—Together with a book, entitled, *La guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des perils qu'a couru la barbe des Capuchins,* livr. ii. p. 147. livr. iii. p. 190, 230. —*Observationes Halenses Latinæ.* tom. iv. Observ. xx. p. 406. tom. v. Observ. i. p. 3.—*Bayle's Diction.* at the article *Ochin.* —Christ. Sandii *Biblioth. Anti Trinitar.* p. 4. Niceron, *Memoires pour servir à l' Histoire des hommes illustres,* tom. xix. p. 166.

☞ [*d*] Ochinus did not leave the accusations of his adversaries without a reply; he published, in Italian, Five Books of Apology for his character and conduct, which were printed, together with a Latin translation of them, by Seb. Castalio, without the date of the year. The *Geneva* edition of this apology bears date 1554, and is in 8vo. There is a German edition in 4to, published (according to Vogtius, *Catal. Lib. rar.* p. 430.) in the year 1556. That copy in the Jena library bears date 1559. See Mylius' *Memor. Acad. Jenens.* C. c. p. 432. Beza, in his letter to Dudithius, insults the memory of Ochinus, and pretends to justify the severity with which he was treated, in such a taunting and uncharitable manner as does him little credit. See his *Epist. Theolog. Genevæ,* 1575, in 12mo. Epist. i. p. 10. and Ep. 81. What the writers of the Romish church have laid to the charge of Ochinus, may be seen in the life of Cardinal Commendoni, written by Gratiani, bishop of *Amelia,* (and published in a French translation by the eloquent Flechier, bishop of *Nismes*), B. 2. C. 9. p. 138—149. N.

one hand, they could not but stand well affected to the *Puritans*, who were stedfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the other, they were connected with the episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation, their whole thoughts were turned towards reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren, the *Puritans*, to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance towards the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such was the gentle spirit of the doctors in *Switzerland* towards the church of *England*, notwithstanding the severe treatment the greatest part of the *Reformed* had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, and scarcely allowed the other reformed communities the privileges, or even the denomination, of a true church. This moderation of the Helvetic doctors was the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous and flourishing people, nor to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only to her own dominions, but even to the United Provinces, which were placed in her neighbourhood, and, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the Reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacific. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions, which, though neither highly absurd, nor of dangerous consequence, have yet the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

more or less by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Besides the dispute between the church of *England* and the other Reformed churches did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that in process of time, nay, soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the two churches, that contributed much to widen the breach, and to cast the prospect of reconciliation at a distance [*d*].

Many persons of eminent genius and learning among the Reformed.

XLIV. That the Reformed church abounded, during this century, with great and eminent men, justly celebrated for their illustrious talents and universal learning, is too well known to stand in need of any proof. Besides Calvin, Zuingle, and Beza, who exhibited to the Republic of Letters very striking instances of genius and erudition, we may place in the list of those who have gained an immortal name by their writings. Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, Martyr, Bibliander, Musculus, Pellican, Lavater, Hospinian, Ursinus, Cranmer, archbishop of *Canterbury*, Szegedinus, and many others,

☞ [*d*] All the protestant divines of the Reformed church, whether Puritans or others, seemed, indeed, hitherto of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But, towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing the received opinions concerning predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Dr. Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean towards the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while on the other hand, the Puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached so the same system, and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called Doctrinal Puritans.

others, whose names and merits are recorded by the writers of philological history, and particularly by Melchior Adam, Antony Wood, and Daniel Neal, the learned and industrious author of the *History of the Puritans.*

CHAP. III.

The History of the Anabaptists or Mennonites.

The origin of the Anabaptists obscure.

I. THE true origin of that sect which acquired the denomination of the *Anabaptists* [e] by their administering anew the rite of baptism

[e] The modern Mennonites reject the denomination of Anabaptists, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, from whence this denomination is derived. They acknowledge that the ancient Anabaptists practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this custom is at present abolished by far the greatest part of their community. See Herm. Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio,* cap. ii. p. 32. But here, if I am not much mistaken, these good men forget that ingenious candour and simplicity, of which, on other occasions, they make such ostentation, and have recourse to artifice, in order to disguise the true cause and origin of the denomination in question. They pretend for instance, that the Anabaptists, their ancestors, were so called from their baptising *a second time* all adult persons, who left other churches to enter into their communion. But it is certain, that the denomination in question was given them, not only on this account, but also, and indeed principally, from the following consideration; that they did not look upon those who had been baptised in a state of infancy, or at a tender age, as rendered, by the administration of this sacrament, true members of the Christian church; and therefore insisted upon their being rebaptised, in order to their being received into the communion of the Anabaptists. It is likewise certain, that all the churches of that communion, however they may vary in other respects, and differ from each other in their tenets and practices, agree nevertheless in this opinion, and, as yet, persevere obstinately in it. In a more especial manner are the ancient Flemish Anabaptists entitled to this denomination.

baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of *Mennonites*, from the famous

For they not only re-baptise the children that have been already baptised in other churches, but even observe the same method with respect to persons that are come to the years of reason and discretion. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the different sects of Anabaptists deal in the same manner one with another; each sect re-baptises the persons that enter into its communion, although they have already received that sacrament in another sect of the same denomination; and the reason of this conduct is, that each sect considers its baptism alone as pure and valid. It is indeed to be observed, that there is another class of Anabaptists, called Waterlandians, who are more moderate in their principles, and wiser in all respects than those now mentioned, and who do not pretend to re-baptise adult persons, who have already been baptised in other Christian churches, or in other sects of their own denomination. This moderate class are, however, with propriety, termed Anabaptists, on account of their re-baptising such as had received the baptismal rite in a state of infancy or childhood. The patrons of this sect seem, indeed, very studious to conceal a practice which they cannot deny to take place among them; and their eagerness to conceal it, arises from an apprehension of reviving the hatred and severities which formerly pursued them. They are afraid, lest, by acknowledging the truth, the modern Mennonites should be considered as the descendants of those flagitious and fanatical Anabaptists of *Munster*, whose enormities rendered their very name odious to all true Christians. All this appears evident from the following passage in Schyn's *Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, tom. ii. p. 32. where that author pretends to prove that his brethren are unjustly stigmatized with the odious denomination of Anabaptists. His words are: "Anabaptismus ille plane obsolevit et a multis retro annis neminem cujuscunque sectæ Christianiæ fidei, *juxta mandatum Christii* baptizatum, dum ad nostras Ecclesias transire cupit, re-baptizaverunt." i. e. That species of Anabaptism with which we are charged, exists no longer, nor has it happened during the space of many years past, that any person professing Christianity, of whatever church or sect he may have been, and who had been previously baptised *according to the commandment of Christ*, has been re-baptised upon his entering into our communion. This passage would, at first sight, induce an inattentive reader to imagine that there is no such thing among the modern Mennonites, as the custom of re-baptising those who enter into their community; But the words which we have marked in Italic, (*juxta mandatum*,

famous man, to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained [*f*]. This uncer-

datum Christi, i. e. *according to the commandment of Christ*,) discovers sufficiently the artifice and fraud that lie hid in this apology; for the Anabaptists maintain that there is no *commandment of Christ* in favour of infant baptism. Moreover, we see the whole fallacy exposed, by what the author adds to the sentence already quoted: "Sed illum etiam *adultorum* baptismum ut sufficientem agnoscunt." Nevertheless, this author, as if he had perfectly proved his point, concludes, with an air of triumph, that the odious name of Anabaptists cannot be given, with any propriety, to the Mennonites at this day; "Quare (says he) verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarem illis non convenire." In this, however, he is certainly mistaken; and the name in question is just as applicable to the modern Mennonites, as it was to the sect from which they descend, since the best and wisest of the Mennonites maintain, in conformity with the principles of the ancient Anabaptists, that the baptism of infants is destitute of validity, and consequently are very careful in re-baptizing their proselytes, notwithstanding their having been baptized in their tender years, in other Christian churches. Many circumstances persuade me that the declarations and representations of things given by the modern Mennonites, are not always worthy of credit. Unhappily instructed by the miseries and calamities in which their ancestors were involved, they are anxiously careful to conceal entirely those tenets and laws that are the distinguishing characteristics of their sect; while they embellish what they cannot totally conceal, and disguise with the greatest art such of their institutions as otherwise might appear of a pernicious tendency, and might expose them to censure.

[*f*] The writers for and against the Anabaptists are amply enumerated by Casper Sagittarius, in his *Introductio ad Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826, and Christ. M. Pfaffius, in his *Introduct. in Histor. Liter. Theologiæ*, part II. p. 349.—Add to these a modern writer, and a Mennonite preacher, Herman Schyn, who published at Amsterdam, in 8vo, in the year 1729, his *Historia Mennonitar.* and, in 1729, his *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* These two books, though they do not deserve the title of a History of the Mennonites, are nevertheless useful, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the affairs of this sect; for this author is much more intent upon defending his brethren against the accusations and reproaches with which they have been loaded, than careful in tracing out the

uncertainty will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up all of a sudden, in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the Reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern *Mennonites* not only consider themselves as the descendants of the *Waldenses*, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretended moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion, on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other [*g*]. Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the descendants of those turbulent and furious *Anabaptists*, who, in the sixteenth century, involved *Germany*, *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and more especially the province of *Westphalia*, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and allege, that, terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced by the moderate councils and wise injunctions of Mennon, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these two

the origin, progress, and revolutions of their sect. And, indeed, after all, the Mennonites have not much reason to boast either of the extraordinary learning or dexterity of this their patron; nay, it is even to be imagined, that they may easily find a more able defender. For an accurate account of the Mennonite historians, and their confessions of faith, see Jo. Christ. Koecheri *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 461.

[*g*] See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennon.* cap. i. p. 2. as also a Dutch work, entitled *Galenus Abrahamzon, Verdediging der Christenem, die Doopsgezinde genamd worden*, p. 29.

two different accounts of the origin of the *Anabaptists* with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them are exactly conformable to truth.

The most probable account of the origin of the Anabaptists.

II. It may be observed, in the first place, that the Mennonites are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as *witnesses of the truth*, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of *Europe*, particularly in *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner; *viz.* "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors." This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the *Mennonites;* and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those, who, before the dawn of the Reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ [*h*]. There

[*h*] See for an account of the religious sentiments of the Waldenses, Limborch's excellent History of the inquisition, translated into English by the learned Dr. Samuel Chandler, book I. chap. viii.—It appears from undoubted testimonies, that the Wickliffites and Hussites did not differ extremely from the Waldenses, concerning the point under consideration.

☞ See also Lydii *Waldensia*, and Allix's Ancient churches of *Piedmont*, ch. xxii—xxvi. p. 211—280. N.

There were, however, different ways of thinking among the different members of this sect, with respect to the methods of attaining to such a perfect church-establishment as they had in view. Some who were of a fanatical complexion on the one hand, and were persuaded on the other, that such a visible church as they had modelled out in fancy, could not be realised by the power of man, entertained the pleasing hope, that God, in his own good time, would erect to himself an holy church, exempt from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would set apart, for the execution of this grand design, a certain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted and prepared for this work, by the extraordinary succours of his Holy Spirit. Others of a more prudent and rational turn of mind, entertained different views of this matter. They neither expected stupendous miracles, nor extraordinary revelations; since they were persuaded, that it was possible, by human wisdom, industry, and vigilance, to purify the church from the contagion of the wicked, and to restore it to the simplicity of its original constitution, provided that the manners and spirit of the primitive Christians could but recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom, and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colours. Some of them imagined, that the time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner, by celestial succours, and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual

tual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves nevertheless, with the fond hopes of the approach of that happy period, in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labours and counsels of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and (as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature) by many persons, whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions, and predictions excited commotions in a great part of *Europe*, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is, however, to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and, consequently, undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprize, they proposed to found a true church, entirely spiritual, and truly divine.

The first motions of the Anabaptists.

IV. It is difficult to determine, with certainty, the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential sect of Anabaptists, whose tumultuous and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion, and the civil interests of mankind. Whether the first arose in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, or the *Netherlands*, is, as yet, a matter of debate, whose decision is of no great importance.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

importance [*i*]. It is most probable, that several persons of this odious class made their appearance, at the same time, in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the Reformation in *Germany*, when Luther arose to set bounds to the ambition of *Rome*. This appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first *Anabaptist* doctors of any eminence, were, almost all, heads and leaders of particular and separate sects. For it must be carefully observed, that though all those projects of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Anabaptists*, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their rebaptising such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their very origin, subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction of all those that composed this motley multitude, was that which pretended that the founders of the new and *perfect church*, already mentioned, were under the direction of a divine impulse, and were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in the year 1521, began their fanatical work, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, Storck, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in *Saxony* and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion, in order to propagate their doctrine. They preached, exhorted, admonished,

[*i*] Fueslin has attempted to examine, whether the Anabaptists first arose in *Germany* or *Switzerland*, in a German work, entitled, *Beytrage zur Schweizerisch Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 190. tom. ii. p. 64, 65, 265, 327, 328. tom. iii. p. 323. but without success.

admonished and reasoned in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great number of visions and revelations with which they pretended to have been favoured from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such a rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of Luther, and other eminent reformers, was detrimental to their cause, they then had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. Munzer and his associates assembled, in the year 1525; a numerous army, composed for the most part, of the peasants of *Suabia*, *Thuringia*, *Franconia*, and *Saxony*, and, at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble, declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates of every kind, under the chimerical pretext, that Christ was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious crowd was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of *Saxony* and other princes; Munzer their ringleader, ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors scattered abroad in different places [*k*].

The progress of this sect.

V. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics, did not produce that effect upon the rest that might naturally have been expected; it rendered them, indeed, more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon this delusion. It is certain, that, even after this period, numbers of them, who were infected with the same odious principles that occasioned the destruction

[*k*] See Seckendorf, *Histor. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192, 304, lib. ii. p. 13.—Sleidan, *Commentar.* lib. v. p. 47.—Joach. Camerarii *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 44.

struction of Munzer, wandered about in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *Holland*, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They gathered together congregations in several places, foretold in consequence of a divine commission, the approaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfal of civil rulers and governors; and while they pretended to be ambassadors of the Most High, insulted on many occasions, the Majesty of heaven by the most flagitious crimes. Those who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect, were Lewis Hetzer, Balthazar Hubmeyar, Felix Mentz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffman, and George Jacob, who, if their power had seconded their designs, would have involved all *Switzerland*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, in tumult and bloodshed [*l*]. A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflection enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained among others, the following points of doctrine: "That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin—that all things ought to be in common among the faithful—that all usury, tythes, and tribute, ought to be entirely abolished—that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil—that every Christian was invested with a power

[*l*] See Jo. Bapt. Otti *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 21.—Jo. Hornbeckii *Summa controvers.* lib. v. p. 332.—Anton. Mattheæi *Analect. veteris ævi*, tom. iv. p. 629, 677, 679.—Bernard. Raupachii *Austria Evangel.* tom. ii. p. 41.—Jo. Georg. Schelhorn, *in Actis ad Histor. Eccles. pertinentibus*, tom. i. p 100.—Godofr. Arnoldi *Historia Hæretica*, lib. xvi. cap. xxi. p. 727.—As also the German work of Fueslin, entitled, *Beytragen zu der Schweizer Reform. Geschichte.*

power to preach the Gospel,—and consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors—that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless—and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions [*m*].

It would betray, however, a strange ignorance, or an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain, that even all those that professed, in general, this absurd doctrine, were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit, and were free from any other reproach, than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still further be affirmed with truth that many of those who followed the wiser class of *Anabaptists*, nay, some who adhere to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery of fanaticism and iniquity, by their ignorance and simplicity on the one hand, and by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion on the other.

Severe punishments inflicted on the Anabaptists.

VI. The progress of this turbulent sect in almost all the countries of *Europe*, alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy [*n*]. But here

[*m*] This account of the doctrine of the Anabaptists is principally taken from the learned Fueslin already quoted.

[*n*] It was in *Saxony*, if I am not mistaken, and also in the year 1525, that penal laws were first enacted against this fa-

here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the *Anabaptists*, under the pressures of persecution, plainly shewed the extreme difficulty of correcting and influencing, by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of *Europe*, an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retractation of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible, but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets, that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The *Mennonites* have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate of those of their sect, who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them [o]. Certain it is, that they were treated with severity; but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the

natical tribe. These laws were renewed frequently in the year 1527, 1528, 1534. (See a German work of the learned Kappius, entitled, *Nachlesse von. Reformations, Urkunden,* part I. p. 176.—Charles V. incensed at the increasing impudence and iniquity of these enthusiasts, issued out against them severe edicts, in the year 1527 and 1529. (See Ottii *Annales Anabapt.* p. 45.)—The magistrates of *Switzerland* treated, at first, with remarkable lenity and indulgence, the *Anabaptists* that lived under their government: but when it was found that this lenity rendered them still more enterprising and insolent, it was judged proper to have recourse to a different manner of proceeding. Accordingly the magistrates of *Zurich* denounced capital punishment against this riotous sect in the year 1525.

[o] See Joach. Christ. Jehring, *Præfat. ad Historiam Mennonicarum,* p. 3.

the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? why were doctrines purely theological, or, at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigour that was shewn to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with milder treatment than what was given to those seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervour of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But, as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of *Anabaptists* unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, indeed, that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be *incurable Heretics;* for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is, nevertheless, certain, that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their te-

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The Anabaptists of Munster.

merity and impudence, which led them to the commission of various crimes.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this, in the dreadful commotions that were excited at *Munster*, in the year 1533, by certain Dutch Anabaptists, that chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen, who had got into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon to be established in an extraordinary manner, formed themselves into a society, under the guidance of a few illiterate leaders chosen out of the populace. And they persuaded, not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that *Munster* was to be the seat of this new and heavenly *Jerusalem* whose ghostly dominion was to be propagated from thence to all the ends of the earth. The ringleaders of this furious tribe were John Matthison, John Bockhold, a tailor of *Leyden*, one Gerhard, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition, had embarked in this extravagant and desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of *Munster*, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes, and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest [*p*]. John Bockhold was proclaimed king and legislator of this new Hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end

☞ [*p*] Bockholdt, or Bockelson, alias John of *Leyden*, who headed them at *Munster*, ran stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives at the same time, to shew his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself king of *Sion:* all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.

end deplorable. For the city of *Munster* was, in the year 1536, retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck, the *New Jerusalem* of the Anabaptists destroyed, and its mock monarch punished with a most painful and ignominious death [*q*]. The disorders occasioned by the Anabaptists at this period, not only in *Westphalia*, but also in other places [*r*], shewed too

[*q*] See Anton. Corvini *Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. excidio*, published first at *Wittemberg* in the year 1536.—Casp. Sagittar. *Introduct. in Histor. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 537. & 835.—Herm. Hamelmann *Historia Renati Evangelii in Urbe Monaster. in Operib. Genealogico Historicis*, p. 1203.—The elegant Latin Poem of Bolandus in Elegiac verse, entitled, J. Fabricii Bolandi *Motus Monasteriens. Libri Decem. Colon.* 1546, in 8vo. Herm. Kerssenbrock, *Histor. Belli Monaster.*—Dan. Gerdes, *Miscellan. Groningens. Nov.* tom. ii. p. 377. This latter author speaks also of Bernard Rothman, an ecclesiastic of *Munster*, who had introduced the Reformation into that city, but afterwards was infected with the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists; and though, in other respects he had shewn himself to be neither destitute of learning nor virtue, yet enlisted himself in this fanatical tribe, and had a share in their most turbulent and furious proceedings.

☞ [*r*] The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in *Holland* by this odious tribe, were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of *Leyden* to ashes, but were happily prevented, and severely punished. John of *Leyden*, the Anabaptist king of *Munster*, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of *Amsterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Wesel*; in consequence thereof, he sent bishops to these three places, to preach *his* gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve Anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at *Amsterdam*. One of them, who was a tailor by profession, fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed during the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets *in this state of nature*, which they accordingly did, howling and bawling out, *Woe! woe! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! Woe to Babylon!* When, after being seized and brought before the magistrates,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

too plainly to what horrid lengths the pernicious doctrines of this wrong-headed sect were adapted to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered, that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction, which was the occasion, nay the source, of unspeakable calamities in so many countries [*s*].

Menno Simon.

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful forms, were presented to the view of this miserable sect, and numbers of them were executed every day, without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those that escaped the severity of justice, were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld, with sorrow, all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at *Munster;* and, on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils that threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort

clothes were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, "We are the naked truth." When they were brought to the scaffold, they sung and danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic frenzy. These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by Van. Geelen (an envoy of the mock-king of Munster, who had made a very considerable number of proselytes) against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours flying, and fixed there his head-quarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgo-masters of the city. After an obstinate resistance, he was surrounded with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands.

[*s*] Ger. Brandt, *Histor. Reform. Belgicæ,* tom. i. lib. ii. p. 119.

comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of Menno Simon, a native of *Friesland*, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the Anabaptists, at first, in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secresy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Romish church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume, among them, the rank and functions of a public teacher; and as he looked upon the persons, from whom this proposal came, to be exempt from the fanatical frenzy of their brethren at *Munster* (though according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings), he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days, that is, during the space of twenty-five years, he travelled from one country to another, with his wife and children exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. *East* and *West Friesland*, together with the province of *Groningen*, were first visited by the zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into *Holland*, *Gelderland*, *Brabant*, and *Westphalia*, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coast of the *Baltic* sea, and penetrated so far as *Livonia*. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination.

The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius; though, as his writings shew, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But no where could he expect a more plentiful harvest than among the *Anabaptists*, whose ignorance and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who, having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled frenetic Bacchanals more than Christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher, whose doctrine and manners seemed to promise them more prosperous days [*t*].

IX. Menno

[*t*] Menno was born at Witmarsum, a village in the neighbourhood of Bolswert in Friesland, in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace in the year 1561, in the duchy of Holstein, at the country seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares

His doctrine.

IX. Menno drew up a plan of doctrine and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity. Accordingly, he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom, to be miraculously established by Jesus Christ on the ruins of civil government, and the destruction of human rulers, and which had been the fatal and pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared, publicly, his dislike of that doctrine, which pointed out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and *extraordinary* effusion of the Holy Spirit. He expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets, which several of the Anabaptists had maintained, with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and, finally, considered, as unworthy of toleration, those fanatics who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the minds of many chosen believers, in as extraordinary a manner as he did at the first establishment of

snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection and gave him an asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 835. See also Herm. Schyn, *Plenior. Deduct. Histor. Mennon.* cap. vi. p. 116.—The writings of Meno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published in *folio* at Amsterdam, in the year 1651. An excessively diffuse and rambling style, frequent and unnecessary repetitions, an irregular and confused method, with other defects of equal moment, render the perusal of these productions highly disagreeable.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

of the Christian church; and that he testified his peculiar presence to several of the faithful, by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained, indeed, the doctrines commonly received among the Anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the *Millennium*, or thousand years reign of Christ upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church, the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity as well as the pernicious effects, of human science. But, while Menno retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner, as made them resemble the religious tenets that were universally received in the protestant churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers who had no inclination to embrace them. It however so happened, that the nature of the doctrines considered in themselves, the eloquence of Menno, which set them off to such advantage, and the circumstances of the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the Anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was in consequence of the ministry of Menno, that the different sorts of Anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics that dishonoured it, and in renouncing all tenets that were detrimental to the authority of civil government, and by an unexpected coalition, formed themselves into one community [*u*].

X. To

[*u*] These facts shew us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern Anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites oppose, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient Anabaptists, which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern Anabaptists

X. To preserve a spirit of union and concord in a body composed of such a motley multitude of

Anabaptists a more honourable origin. (See Schyn, *Histor. Mennonitar.* cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223). The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident. Their situation has rendered them timorous. They live as it were in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension, that some day or other, malevolent zealots may take occasion, from their supposed origin, to renew against them the penal laws, by which the seditious Anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least, they imagine that the odium under which they lie, will be greatly diminished, if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the public, the falsehood of that generally received opinion, that "the Mennonites are the descendants of the Anabaptists;" or, to speak more properly, "the same individual sect, purged from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors by reflection and suffering."

The origin of the sects that have started up among the Anabaptists.

After comparing diligently and impartially together what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is properly, that forms the subject of their controversy; and if the merits of the cause be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I do not see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration: For, in the

First place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this, that Menno whom they considered as their parent and their chief was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the Anabaptists of Munster; that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates, and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of a supernatural kind; if (I say) this be all that the Mennonites mean, when they speak of their chief, no person, acquainted with the history of their sect, will pretend to contradict them. Nay, even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connection between the ancient and modern Anabaptists, will readily allow, to be true, all that has been here said of Menno.—*2dly*, If the Anabaptists maintain, that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from Menno, have not only discovered, without interruption a pacific spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government (abstaining from every thing that carried the remotest aspect of sedition, and shewing the utmost abhorrence of wars and bloodshed), but have even banished from

of dissonant members, required more than human power; and Mennon neither had, nor pretended to

from their confession of faith, and their religious instructions, all those tenets and principles that led on the ancient Anabaptists to disobedience, violence and rebellion; all this again will be readily granted.—And if they allege, in the third place, that even the Anabaptists who lived before Menno, were not *all* so delirious as Munzer, nor so outrageous as the fanatical part of that sect, that rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at Munster; that, on the contrary, many of these ancient Anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the ancient Waldenses, Henricans, Petrobrussians, Hussites, and Wickliffites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronize the sect; all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin, which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain, 1*st*, that none of their sect descended, by birth, from those Anabaptists, who involved Germany and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and particularly by the declarations of Menno himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity, and reformed the lives and errors of several members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact, *viz.* that the first Mennonite congregations were composed of the different sorts of Anabaptists already mentioned, of those who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those who, before their conversion by the ministry of Menno, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowledgment of this incontestible fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonourable to them, than it is to us, that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery. Again; it will not be possible for us to agree with the Mennonites, if they maintain, 2*dly*, that their sect does not retain at this day, any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines, which led the seditious and turbulent Anabaptists of old to the commission of so many, and of such enormous crimes. For, not to mention Menno's calling the Anabpatists of Munster his *Brethren* (a denomination indeed somewhat softened by the epithet of *erring*, which he joined to it), it is undoubtedly true, that the doctrine concerning the nature

to have, supernatural succours. Accordingly, the seeds of dissension were, in a little time, sown among this people. About the middle of this century, a warm contest, concerning *Excommunication*, was excited by several Anabaptists, headed by Leonard Bowenson and Theodore Philip; and its fruits are yet visible in that divided sect. These men carried the discipline of excommunication to an enormous degree of severity and rigour. They not only maintained, that open transgressors, even those who sincerely deplored and lamented their faults, should, without any previous warning or admonition, be expelled from the communion of the church; but were also audacious enough to pretend to exclude the persons, thus excommunicated, from all intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and relations. The same persons, as might naturally be expected from this sample of their severity, were harsh and rigid in their manners, and were for imposing upon their brethren a course of moral discipline, which was difficult and austere in the highest degree. Many of the Anabaptists protested against this, as unreasonable and unnecessary;

nature of Christ's kingdom, or the church of the New Testament, which led by degrees the ancient Anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that have rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is, indeed, weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence; but it is not totally renounced nor abolished. —I shall not now enquire how far even the reformed and milder sect of Menno has been, in time past, exempt from tumults and commotions of a grievous kind, nor shall I examine what passes at this day among the Anabaptists in general, or in particular branches of that sect: since it is certain, that the more eminent communities of that denomination, particularly those that flourish in North Holland, and the places adjacent, behold fanatics with the utmost aversion, as appears evidently from this circumstance, among others, that they will not suffer the people called Quakers to enter into their communion.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

cessary; and thus the community was, all of a sudden, divided into two sects; of which the one treated transgressors with lenity and moderation, while the other proceeded against them with the utmost rigour. Nor was this the only difference that was observable in the conduct and manners of these two parties; since the latter was remarkable for the sordid austerity that reigned in their rules of life and practice; while the former considering more wisely the present state of human nature, were less severe in their injunctions, and were not altogether regardless of what is called decent, agreeable, and ornamental in life and manners. Menno employed his most vigorous efforts to heal these divisions, and to restore peace and concord in the community; but when he perceived that his attempts were vain, he conducted himself in such a manner as he thought the most proper to maintain his credit and influence among both parties. For this purpose he declared himself for neither side, but was constantly trimming between the two, as long as he lived; at one time discovering an inclination towards the austere Anabaptists; and, at another, seeming to prefer the milder discipline and manners of the more moderate brethren. But in this he acted in opposition to the plainest dictates of prudence; and accordingly the high degree of authority he enjoyed, rendered his inconstancy and irresolution not only disagreeable to both parties, but also the means of inflaming, instead of healing, their divisions [*w*].

The rigid and moderate Anabaptists.

XI. These two sects are, to this very day, distinguished by the denominations of *fine* and *gross*,

[*w*] See the *Historia Bellorum et Certaminum quæ, ab A.* 1615, *inter Mennonitas contigerunt* which was published by an anonymous Mennonite.—See also a German work, entitled, Sim. Fred. Rues, *Narchichten von dem Zustande der Menoniten,* published in 8vo at *Jena,* in the year 1743.

gross [x], or, to express the distinction in more intelligible terms, into *rigid* and *moderate* Anabaptists. The former observe, with the most religious accuracy, veneration, and precision, the ancient doctrine, discipline, and precepts, of the purer sort of Anabaptists; the latter depart much more from the primitive sentiments, manners, and institutions of their sect, and approach nearer to those of the protestant churches. The *gross* or *moderate* Anabaptists consisted at first, of the inhabitants of a district in *North-Holland*, called *Waterland*, and hence their whole sect was distinguished by the denomination of *Waterlandians* [y]. The *fine* or *rigid* part of that community were, for the most part, natives of *Flanders;* and hence their sect acquired the denomination of *Flemingians*, or *Flandrians*. But new dissensions and contests arose among these *rigid* Anabaptists, not indeed,

☞ [x] The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *groben* and *feinen*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the Protestants in *Holland;* the *fine* denoting a set of people, whose extraordinary and sometimes fanatical devotion, resembles that of the English Methodists; while the *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians, who make no extraordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sanctity and devotion.

[y] See Frid. Spanhemii *Elenchus Controvers. Theol. Opp.* tom. ii. p. 772. The Waterlandians were also called *Johannites*, from John de Ries, who was of great use to them in many respects, and who, assisted by Lubert Gerart, composed their confession of faith in the year 1580. This confession (which far surpasses both in point of simplicity and wisdom all the other confessions of the Mennonites) has passed through several editions, and has been lately republished by Herman Schyn, in his *Histor. Mennon.* cap. vii. p. 172. It was also illustrated in an ample Commentary, in the year 1686, by Peter Joannis, a native of *Holland*, and pastor among the Waterlandians. It has, however, been alleged, that this famous production is by no means the general confession of the Waterlandians, but the private one only of that particular congregation, of which its author was the pastor. See Rues, *Nachrichten*, p. 93, 94.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

concerning any point of doctrine, but about the manner of treating persons that were to be excommunicated, and other matters of inferior moment. Hence a new schism arose, and they were subdivided into new sects, distinguished by the appellations of *Flandrians* and *Frieslanders*, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. To these were added a third, who took the name of their country, like the two former, and were called *Germans;* for the Anabaptists of *Germany* passed in shoals into *Holland* and the *Netherlands*. But, in process of time, the greatest part of these three sects came over, by degrees, to the moderate community of the *Waterlandians*, with whom they lived in the strictest bonds of peace and union. Those among the rigid Anabaptists, who refused to follow this example of moderation, are still known by the denomination of the *Old Flemingians*, or *Flandrians*, but are few in number, when compared with the united congregations of the milder sects now mentioned.

The source from which the Mennonites drew their doctrine.

XII. No sooner had the ferment of enthusiasm subsided among the Mennonites, than all the different sects, into which they had been divided, unanimously agreed to draw the whole system of their religious doctrine from the Holy Scriptures alone. To give a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their resolution in this respect, they took care to have *Confessions* drawn up, in which their sentiments concerning the Deity, and the manner of serving him, were expressed in the terms and phrases of Holy Writ. The most ancient, and also the most respectable of these *Confessions* is that which we find among the *Waterlandians*. Several others, of later date, were also composed, some for the use of large communities, for the people of a whole district, and which were consequently submitted to the inspection of the magistrate; others designed only for the benefit of private societies,

cieties [z]. It might not, perhaps, be amiss to enquire, whether all the tenets received among the Mennonites are faithfully exhibited and plainly expressed in these *Confessions*, or whether several points be not there omitted which relate to the internal constitution of this sect, and would give us a complete idea of its nature and tendency. One thing is certain, that whoever peruses these *Confessions* with an ordinary degree of attention, will easily perceive, that those tenets which appear detrimental to the interests of civil society, particularly those that relate to the prerogatives of magistracy, and the administration of oaths, are expressed with the utmost caution, and embellished with the greatest art, to prevent their bearing an alarming aspect. At the same time, the more discerning observer will see, that these embellishments are intended to disguise the truth, and that the doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the critical points above mentioned, are not represented, in their public *Confessions*, in their real colours.

Their religion was late reduced into a system.

XIII. The ancient Anabaptists, who trusted in an extraordinary direction of the Holy Spirit, were (under the pretended influence of so infalli-

[z] See an account of these Confessions in Schyn's *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennon*, cap. iv. p. 78. 115. where he maintains, that "these Confessions prove as great a uniformity among the Mennonites, in relation to the great and fundamental doctrines of religion, as can be pretended to by any other Christian community." But should the good man even succeed in persuading us of this boasted uniformity, he will yet never be able to make his assertion go down with many of his own brethren, who are, to this day, quarrelling about several points of religion, and who look upon matters, which appear to him of little consequence, as of high moment and importance to the cause of true piety. And, indeed, how could any of the Mennonites, before this present century, believe what Schyn here affirms, since it is well known, that they disputed about matters which he treats with contempt, as if they had been immediately connected with their eternal interests?

ble a guide) little solicitous about composing a system of religion, and never once thought of instilling into the minds of the people just sentiments of the Deity. Hence the warm dissensions that arose among them, concerning matters of the highest consequence, such as the *Divinity of* Christ, *Polygamy*, and *Divorce*. Menno and his disciples made some attempts to supply this defect. But nevertheless we find, after his time, that the Mennonites, more especially those of the *rigid* class, carried the freedom of their religious speculations to such an excessive height, as bordered upon extravagance. This circumstance alone, were there no other, proves that the heads of this sect employed the smallest part of their zeal to prevent the introduction and propagation of error; and that they looked upon sanctity of life and manners alone as the essence of true religion. The *Waterlandians*, indeed, and after them the other Anabaptists, were obliged, at length, to draw up a summary of their doctrine, and to lay it before the public, in order to remove the *odium* that was cast upon them, on account of their bold tenets and their extravagant disputes, which were likely to involve them in the greatest calamities. But these *Confessions* of the *Mennonites* were, in reality, little more than a method of defence, to which they were reduced by the opposition they met with, and must therefore be rather considered as an expedient to avert the indignation of their enemies, than as articles of doctrine, which all of them, without exception, were obliged to believe. For we do not find among the Mennonites (a part of the modern *Waterlandians* excepted) any injunction which expressly prohibits individuals from entertaining or propagating religious opinions different from the public creed of the community. And, indeed, when we look attentively into the nature and constitution of this sect,

sect, it will appear to have been, in some measure, founded upon this principle, that practical piety, is the essence of religion, and that the surest and most infallible mark of the *true church* is the sanctity of its members; it is at least certain, that this *principle* was always universally adopted by the Anabaptists.

The religion of the Mennonites.

XIV. If we are to form our judgment of the religion of the *Mennonites* from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find, that though it varies widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, yet in most things it differs but little from that of the Reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light, than as *signs* or symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the Gospel: and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the *Presbyterians*. There are, however, peculiar tenets by which they are distinguished from all other religious communities, and these may be reduced under three heads. For it is observable, that there are certain doctrines, which are held in common by all the various sects of the Mennonites; others, which are only received in some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community (such were the sentiments of Menno, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the Anabaptists); and others, again, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last, indeed, appear and vanish alternately, with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to employ our attention any farther in this place.

The great principle on which the general doctrine of the Mennonites is founded.

XV. The opinions that are held in common by the Mennonites seem to be all derived from this leading and fundamental principle, that *the kingdom which* Christ *established upon the earth is a visible church or community, into which the holy and the*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

the just are alone to be admitted, and which is consequently exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline, that have been invented by human wisdom for the correction and reformation of the wicked.

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites; their more immediate descendants, however, began to be less ingenuous; and in ther public *Confessions of Faith*, they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it entirely. To renounce it entirely was impossible, without falling into the greatest inconsistency, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines that distinguished them from all other Christian sccieties [*a*]. And yet is certain that the present Mennonites, as they have, in many other respects, departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors; so have they given a striking

[*a*] That they did not renounce it entirely, is evident from their own Creeds and Confessions, even from those in which the greatest caution has been employed to conceal the principles that rendered their ancestors odious, and to disguise whatever might render themselves liable to suspicion. For example, they speak in the most pompous terms concerning the dignity, excellence, utility, and divine origin, of civil magistrates; and I am willing to suppose that they speak their real sentiments in this matter. But when they proceed to give reasons that prevent their admitting magistrates into their communion, they discover unwarily the very principles which they are otherwise so studious to conceal. Thus in the thirtieth article of the Waterlandian Confession, they declare, that "Jesus Christ has not comprehended the institution of civil magistracy in his spiritual kingdom, in the Church of the New Testament, nor has he added it to the offices of his church:" The Latin words are: "Protestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officis ecclesiæ suæ adjunxit." Hence it appears, that the Mennonites look upon the church of the New Testament, as a holy republic inaccessible to the wicked, and consequently, exempt from those institutions and laws that are necessary to oppose the progress of iniquity. Why then do they not speak plainly, when they deliver their doctrine concerning the nature of the church, instead of affecting ambiguity and evasions?

striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly renounced this fundamental doctrine of their sect, relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason, and the declarations of scripture, had demonstrated sufficiently, but without effect. Now, that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets: *First*, That there is an *invisible* church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear the Christian name: *Secondly*, That the mark of the true church is not, as their former doctrine supposed, to be sought for in the unspotted sanctity of all its members (since they acknowledge that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked), but in the knowledge of the truth, as it was delivered by Christ, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine, that *they admit none to the sacrament of baptism but persons that are come to the full use of their reason;* because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether or no, in maturer years, they will be saints or sinners: It is in consequence of the same doctrine, that *they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy;* for where there

Their peculiar tenets or doctrines.

are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence do they pretend also *to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust;* for as those who are *perfectly holy*, can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they do not stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them *the utmost aversion to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments;* since, according to this principle, there are no transgressions nor crimes in the kingdom of Christ, and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined, that *they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath* upon any other foundation than this, that *the perfect members of a holy church* can neither *dissemble* nor *deceive*. It was certainly then the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the sanctity of the church, that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and that was the source of that rigid and severe discipline, which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

Their system of morality.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline that were formerly observed by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and thus every way conformable to the fundamental principle, which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but, it is certain, that in the times of old their moral precepts were very severe. And, indeed it could not well be otherwise; for, when these people had once got it into their heads, that *sanctity of manners* was the *only genuine* mark of the true church, it may well be imagined, that they would spare no pains to obtain this honourable character for their sect; and that, for this purpose, they would use the strictest precautions to

to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was that they unanimously, and no doubt justly, exalted the rules of the Gospel, on account of their transcendent purity. They alleged, that Christ had promulgated a new law of life, far more perfect than that which had been delivered by Moses and the Prophets; and they excluded from their communion all such as deviated, in the least, from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their clothing, and their table: all whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity: nay, even all who observed a certain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. But this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired, by their industry and commerce, has relaxed their severity, softened their manners, and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life; so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community [*b*]. There are, however, still some remains of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the Anabaptists; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and more particularly among those who live remote from great and popular cities.

The singular tenet of some sects.

XVIII. The particular sentiments and opinions that divided the more considerable societies of the

☞ [*b*] It is certain, that the Mennonites in Holland, at this day, are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, who are very numerous and extremely opulent.

Mennonites, were those that follow: 1. Menno denied that Christ derived from his mother the body he assumed; and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing, in the womb of that blessed virgin, by the *creating* power of the Holy Ghost [*c*]. This opinion is yet firmly maintained by the *ancient Flemingians* or *rigid* Anabaptists; but has, long since, been renounced by

[*c*] This is the account that is given of the opinion of Menno by Herman Schyn, in his *Plenior Deduct. Hist. Mennonit.* p. 164, 165. which other writers represent in a different manner. After an attentive perusal of several passages in the writings of Menno, where he professedly handles this very subject, it appears to be more than probable, that he inclined to the opinion attributed to him in the text, and that it was in this sense only, that he supposed Christ to be clothed with a divine and celestial body. For that may, without any impropriety, be called celestial and divine, which is produced immediately, in consequence of a creating act, by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowledged, that Menno does not seem to have been unchangeably wedded to this opinion. For in several places he expresses himself ambiguously on this head, and even sometimes falls into inconsistencies. From hence, perhaps, it might not be unreasonable to conclude, that he renounced indeed the common opinion concerning the origin of Christ's human nature; but was pretty much undetermined with respect to the hypothesis, which, among many that were proposed, it was proper to substitute in its place. ☞ See Fueslini *Centuria* I. *Epistolar. a Reformator. Helveticis scriptar.* p. 383.—Be that as it may, Menno is generally considered as the author of this opinion, concerning the origin of Christ's body, which is still embraced by the more rigid part of his followers. It appears probable, nevertheless, that this opinion was much older than his time, and was not only adopted by him with the other tenets of the Anabaptists. As a proof of this, it may be observed, that Bolandus, in his poem, entitled, *Motus Monasteriensis*, lib. x. v. 49. plainly declares, that many of the Anabaptists of Munster (who certainly had not been instructed by Menno) held this very doctrine in relation to Christ's incarnation:

Esse (Christum) Deum statuunt alii, sed corpore carnem,
Humanam sumto sustinuisse negant:
At Diam mentem, tenuis quassi fauce canalis,
Per Mariæ corpus virginis isse ferunt.

by all the other sects of that denomination [*d*]. 2. The more austere Mennonites, like their forefathers, not only animadvert, with the most unrelenting severity, upon actions manifestly criminal, and evidently repugnant to the divine laws, but also treat, in the same manner, the smallest marks of an internal propensity to the pleasures of sense, or of a disposition to comply with the customs of the world. They condemn, for example, elegant dress, rich furniture, every thing, in a word, that looks like ornament, or surpasses the bounds of absolute necessity. Their conduct also to offenders is truly merciless; for they expel them from the church without previous admonition, and never temper the rigour of their judgments by an equitable consideration of the infirmities of nature in this imperfect state. The other Mennonites are by no means chargeable with this severity towards their offending brethren; they exclude none from their communion but the obstinate contemners of the divine laws; nor do they proceed to this extremity even with regard to such, until repeated admonitions have proved ineffectual to reform them.—3. The more rigid Mennonites look upon those that are excommunicated as the pests of society, who are to be avoided upon all occasions, and to be banished from all the comforts of social intercourse. Neither the voice of Nature, nor the ties of blood, are allowed to plead in their behalf, or to procure them

[*d*] Many writers are of opinion, that the Waterlandians, of all the other Anabaptists shewed the strongest propensity to adopt the doctrine of Menno, relating to the origin of Christ's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 223.—*Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 200. But that these writers are mistaken, is abundantly manifest from the public Confession of Faith of the Waterlandians, composed by Ries. See also, for a farther refutation of this mistake, Herm. Schyn, *Deductio Plenior Histor. Mennonit.* p. 165.

them the smallest degree of indulgence. In such a case the exchange of good offices, the sweets of friendly conversation, and the mutual effusions of tenderness and love, are cruelly suspended, even between parents and children, husbands and wives, and also in all the other endearing relations of human life.—But the more moderate branches of this community have wisely rejected this unnatural discipline, and look upon the honour and sanctity of the church to be sufficiently vindicated, when its members avoid a close and particular intimacy with those who have been expelled from its communion. 4. The rigid Anabaptists enjoin it as an obligation upon their disciples, and the members of their community, to wash the feet of their guests as a token of brotherly love and affection, and in obedience to the example of Christ; which they suppose, in this case, to have the force of a positive command; and hence they are sometimes called *Podoniptæ*. But the other *Mennonites* deny that Christ meant, in this instance of his goodness and condescension, to recommend this custom to the imitation of his followers, or to give his example, in this case, the authority of a positive precept.

The state of learning and philosophy among the Anabaptists.

XIX. The Anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, were agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which, in former times, they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers who, in this century, employed their pens in the defence of that sect, there is none whose labours bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid *Mennonites* persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and neglecting totally the improvement of the mind and the culture of the sciences, devote themselves entirely

entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The *Waterlandians*, indeed, are honourably distinguished from all the other Anabaptists in this, as well as in many other respects. For they permit several members of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose usefulness and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that in our times, so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians. Nay more; it is not unusual to see Anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, on the excellence and utility of which their eyes are, at length, so far opened, as to make them acknowledge their importance to the well-being of society. It was, no doubt, in consequence of this change of sentiment that they have erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning, at *Amsterdam*, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities chosen as professor of philosophy. But, though these moderate Anabaptists acknowledge the benefit which may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, yet they still persevere so far in their ancient prejudices, as to consider theology as a system that has no connection with them; and, consequently, they are of opinion, that in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. It is farther to be observed, that, in the present times, even the *Flemish*, or *rigid* Anabaptists begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the other sciences.

XX. That

Their division into a multitude of sects.

XX. That simplicity and ignorance, of which the ancient Anabaptists boasted, as the guardians of their piety and the sources of their felicity, contributed principally to those divisions and schisms that reigned among them, from even their first rise, in a degree unknown and unexperienced in any other Christian community. This will appear evident to such as enquire, with the smallest attention, into the more immediate causes of their dissensions. For it is observable, that their most vehement contests had not for their object any difference in opinion concerning the doctrines or mysteries of religion, but generally turned upon matters relating to the conduct of life, on what was *lawful*, *decent*, *just*, and *pious*, in actions and manners, and what, on the contrary, was to be considered as *criminal* or *unseemly*. These disputes were a natural consequence of their favourite principle, that *holiness* of life, and *purity* of manners, were the authentic *marks* of the true church. But the misfortune lay here, that, being ignorant themselves, and under the guidance of persons whose knowledge was little superior to theirs, they were unacquainted with the true method of determining, in a multitude of cases, what was *pious*, *laudable*, and *lawful*, and what was *impious*, *unbecoming*, and *criminal*. The criterion they employed for this purpose was neither the decision of right reason, nor the authority of the divine laws, accurately interpreted; since their ignorance rendered them incapable of using these means of arriving at the truth. They judged, therefore, of these matters by the suggestions of fancy, and the opinions of others. But as this method of discerning between right and wrong, decent and indecent, was extremely uncertain and precarious, and could not but produce a variety of decisions, according to the different feelings, fancies, tempers, and capacities of different persons, hence naturally

naturally arose diversity of sentiments, debates, and contests of various kinds. These debates produced schisms and divisions, which are never more easily excited, nor more obstinately fomented and perpetuated, than where ignorance, the true source of bigotry, prevails.

The first solid settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces.

XXI. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of *Orange*, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged, by gratitude, to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted [*e*]. The fruits, however of this toleration, were not immediately enjoyed by all the Anabaptists that were dispersed through the different provinces of the rising republic; for, in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of *Zealand* and the city of *Amsterdam*, where the remembrance of the plots the Anabaptists had laid, and the tumults they had excited, was still fresh in the minds of the people [*f*]. This opposition, indeed, was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of William the First, and his son Maurice, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the

[*e*] See Brandt, *Histoire der Reformatio in de Nederlandc*, vol. i. p. 525, 526.—*Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 201.

[*f*] Brandt, *loc. cit.* book xi. p. 555, 586, 587, 609, 610. book xiv. p. 780. book xvi. p. 811.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled, instead of diminishing, the precautions that might remove all grounds of suspicion to their advantage, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opposition justifiable. But it was not before the following century, that their liberty and tranquillity, were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a *Confession of Faith*, published in the year 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors that had been laid to their charge [*g*].

The English Anabaptists.

XXII. The sect, in *England*, which rejects the custom of baptizing infants, are not distinguished by the title of *Anabaptists*, but by that of *Baptists*. It is however, probable, that they derive their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites; and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points. That, indeed, is by no means the case at present; for the English Baptists differ, in many things, both from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two sects. One of which is distinguished by the denomination of *General* or *Arminian Baptists*, on account of their opposition to the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees; and the other by that of *Particular* or *Calvinistical Baptists*, from the striking resemblance of their religious system to that of the Presbyterians, who have Calvin for their chief [*h*]. The Baptists of this latter sect settled chiefly at *London*, and in the towns and villages adjacent; and they have departed so far from the tenets of their ancestors, that, at this day,

[*g*] See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* cap. iv. p. 79.

[*h*] See Whiston's *Memoires of his Life and Writings*, vol. ii. p. 461.

day, they retain no more of the peculiar doctrines and institutions of the Mennonites, than the administration of baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants, and those of tender years. And consequently they have none of those scruples relating to oaths, wars, and the functions of magistracy, that still remain among even the most rational part of the modern Mennonites. They observe in their congregations the same rules of government, and the same method of worship, that are followed by the Presbyterians, and their community is under the direction of men eminent for their piety and learning [*i*]. From their Confession of Faith, that was published in the year 1643, it appears plainly, that their religious sentiments were the same then that they are at this day [*k*].

The opinions of the General and Particular Anabaptists in England.

XXIII. The *General* Baptists, or, as they are called by some, the *Antipædobaptists*, are dispersed in great numbers through several counties of *England*, and are, for the most part, persons of mean condition, and almost totally destitute of learning and knowledge. This latter circumstance will appear less surprising, when it is considered, that, like the ancient Mennonites, they profess a contempt of erudition and science. There is much latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such vague and general principles, as render their communion accessible to Christians of almost all denominations. And, accordingly, they tolerate, in fact, and receive among them, persons of every sect, even Socinians and Arians; nor do they reject any from their communion who profess themselves Christians, and receive the Holy Scriptures as the source of truth,

[*i*] See a German work composed by Ant. William Bohm, under the title of the *History of the Reformation in England*, p. 151, 473, 536, 1152.

[*k*] *Bibliotheque Britannique*, tom. vi. p. 2.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

truth, and the rule of faith [*l*]. They agree with the *Particular* Baptists in this circumstance, that they admit to baptism adult persons only, and administer that sacrament by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them in another respect, even in their repeating the administration of baptism to those who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or by aspersion, instead of dipping; for if the common accounts may be believed, the *Particular Baptists* do not carry matters so far. The following sentiments, rites, and tenets, are also peculiar to the former: 1. After the manner of the ancient Mennonites, they look upon their sect as the only true Christian church, and consequently shun, with the most scrupulous caution, the communion of all other religious societies. 2. They dip only once, and not three times, as is practised elsewhere, the candidates for baptism, and consider it as a matter of indifference, whether that sacrament be administered in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. 3. They adopt the doctrine of Menno with respect to the *Millenium*, or thousand years reign of the

[*l*] This appears evidently from their Confession of Faith, which appeared first in the year 1660, was republished by Mr. Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, vol. ii. p. 561. and is drawn up with such latitude, that with the removal and alteration of a few points*, it may be adopted by Christians of all denominations†. Mr. Whiston, though an Arian, became a member of this Baptist community, which, as he thought came nearest to the simplicity of the primitive and apostolic age. The famous Mr. Emlyn, who was persecuted on account of his Socinian principles, joined himself also to this society, and died in their communion.

☞ * Viz. Those relating to Universal Redemption, the Perseverance of the Saints, Election and Reprobation, which are illustrated entirely on Arminian principles, and consequently cannot be embraced by rigid Calvinists; not to mention the points relating to baptism, which are the distinctive marks of this sect.

☞ † Our author does not certainly mean to include Roman Catholics in this large class, for then his assertion would not be true.

the saints with Christ upon earth: And, 4. Many of them embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body [*m*]. 5. They look upon the precept of the apostles, prohibiting the use of blood, and *things strangled* [*n*], as a law that was designed to be in force in all ages and periods of the church. 6. They believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility. 7. They use the ceremony of extreme unction. And, to omit matters of a more trifling nature. 8. Several of them observe the Jewish, as well as the Christian Sabbath [*o*]. These Baptists have three different classes of ecclesiastical governors, *bishops*, *elders*, and *deacons*; the first of these, among whom there have been several learned men [*p*], they modestly call *messengers* [*q*], as St. John is known to have styled that Order, in the book of the *Revelations*.

The Davidists, or David Georgians.

XXIV. Before we conclude the History of the Anabaptists, it may not be improper to mention a very singular and ridiculous sect that was founded by David George, a native of *Delf*, and a member of that community. This enthusiast after having laid the foundation of the sect of the *Davidists*, or *David-Georgians*, deserted the Anabaptists, and removed to *Basil* in *Switzerland*, in the year 1544, where he changed his name, and by the liberality and splendour that attended his

 opulence,

☞ [*m*] To wit, that the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but *created* in her womb by an omnipotent act of the Holy Spirit.

[*n*] Acts xv. 9.

[*o*] These accounts of the doctrine of the Baptists are taken from Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*; and from the second volume of Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, p. 465. &c.

[*p*] See Whiston's *Memoirs of his Life*, tom. ii. p. 466. as also Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, published in four volumes 8vo, in the year 1728.

[*q*] St. John calls them the *angels of the churches*; the word *angel* (in Greek ἄγγελος) signifies properly an *envoy or messenger*.

opulence, joined to his probity and purity of manners, acquired a very high degree of esteem, which he preserved till his death. The lustre of his reputation was, however, but transitory; for, soon after his decease, which happened in the year 1556, his son-in-law, Nicholas Blesdyck, charged him with having maintained the most blasphemous and pestilential errors. The senate of *Basil*, before whom this accusation was brought, being satisfied with the evidence by which it was supported, pronounced sentence against the deceased heretic, and ordered his body to be dug up and to be publicly burnt. And, indeed, nothing more horridly impious and extravagant can possibly be conceived, than the sentiments and tenets of this fanatic, if they were really such as they have been represented, either by his accusers or his historians. For he is said to have given himself out for the Son of God, the Fountain of divine wisdom, to have denied the existence of angels, good and evil, of heaven and hell, and to have rejected the doctrine of a future judgment; and he is also charged with having trampled upon all the rules of decency and modesty with the utmost contempt [*r*]. In all this however, it is very possible, that there may be much exaggeration. The enthusiast in question, though a man of some natural genius, was, nevertheless, totally destitute of learning of every kind, and had something obscure, harsh, and illiberal in his manner of expression, that gave too much occasion

[*r*] See Nic. Blesdyckii *Historia Davidis Georgii à* Jacobo Revio *edita;* as also the life of the same Fanatic, written in the German language, by Stolterforth. Among the modern writers, see Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, tom. i. p. 750. tom. ii. p. 534, & 1183, in which there are several things that tend to clear the character of David. See also Henr. Mori *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, sect. xxxiii. p. 23.—And the documents I have published in relation to this matter, in the *History of Servetus*, p. 425.

occasion to an unfavourable interpretation of his religious tenets. That he had both more sense and more virtue than is generally imagined, appears manifestly, not only from his numerous writings, but also from the simplicity and candour that were visible in the temper and spirit of the disciples he left behind him, of whom several are yet to be found in *Holstein*, *Friesland*, and other countries [*s*]. He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers; and in this he seemed to imitate the example of the more moderate Anabaptists. But the excessive warmth of an irregular imagination threw him into illusions of the most dangerous and pernicious kind, and seduced him into a persuasion that he was honoured with the gift of divine inspiration, and had celestial visions constantly presented to his mind. Thus was he led to such a high degree of fanaticism, that rejecting as mean and useless the external services of piety, he reduced religion to contemplation, silence, and a certain frame or habit of soul, which it is equally difficult to define and to understand. The soaring *Mystics* and the visionary *Quakers*, may therefore, if they please, give David George a distinguished rank in their enthusiastical community.

The Family of Love, founded by Henry Nicholas.

XXV. Henry Nicholas, a *Westphalian*, one of the intimate companions of this fanatic, though somewhat different from him in the nature of his enthusiasm, and also in points of genius and character, founded a sect in *Holland*, in the year 1555, which he called the *Family of Love*. The principles of this sect were afterwards propagated in *England*, and produced no small confusion in both nations. The judgment that has been formed with respect to David George may be applied with truth, at least, in a great measure, to his associate

[*s*] See Jo. Molleri *Introduct. in Histor. Chersones. Cimbricæ*, P. II. p. 116. & *Cimbriæ Literatæ*, tom. i. p. 422.

sociate Nicholas, who, perhaps, would have prevented a considerable part of the heavy reproaches with which he had been loaded, had he been endowed with a degree of genius, discernment, and knowledge, sufficient to enable him to express his sentiments with perspicuity and elegance. Be that as it may, the character, temper, and views of this man may be learned from the spirit that reigned in his flock [*t*]. As to his pretensions, they were, indeed, visionary and chimerical; for he maintained, that he had a commission from heaven, to teach men that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of *divine love;* that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith, or modes of worship, were of no sort of moment: and consequently, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference, what opinions Christians entertained concerning the divine nature, provided their hearts burned with the pure and sacred flame of piety and love. To this, his main doctrine, Nicholas may have probably added other odd fancies, as always is the case with those innovators, who are endued with a warm and fruitful imagination; to come, however, at a true notion of the opinions of this enthusiast, it will be much easier to consult his own writings, than to depend entirely upon the accounts and refutations of his adversaries [*u*].

CHAP.

[*t*] See Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controvers.* lib. vi. p. 393. —Arnold, *Kirchen und Ketzer Histoire,* p. 746.—Bohm's *History of the Reformation in England,* (written in German), book iv. chap. v. p. 541.

[*u*] The most learned of all the authors, who wrote against the *Family of Love,* was Dr. Henry More, in his *Grand Explanation of the Mystery of Godliness,* &c. book vi. ch. 12—18. George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, inveighed also severely against this seraphic *Family,* and called them a motley tribe of fanatics, because they took oaths, danced, sung, and made merry. See Shewell's *History of the Quakers,* book iii. p. 88, 89, 344.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the SOCINIANS.

The denomination and origin of this sect.

I. THE *Socinians* are said to have derived this denomination from the illustrious family of the *Sozzini*, which flourished a long time at *Sienna* in *Tuscany*, and produced several great and eminent men, and among others Lælius and Faustus Sozinus, who are commonly supposed to have been the founders of this sect. The former was the son of Marianus, a famous lawyer, and was himself a man of uncommon genius and learning; to which he added, as his very enemies are obliged to acknowledge, the lustre of a virtuous life, and of unblemished manners. Being forced to leave his country, in the year 1547, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery, he travelled through *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Poland*, in order to examine the religious sentiments of those who had thrown off the yoke of *Rome*, and thus at length to come at the truth. After this he settled at *Zurich*, where he died in the year 1562, before he had arrived at the fortieth year of his age [*w*]. His mild and gentle disposition rendered him averse from whatever had the air of contention and discord. He adopted the Helvetic confession of faith, and professed himself a member of the church of *Switzerland*; but this did not engage him to conceal entirely the doubts he had formed in relation to certain points of religion, and which he communicated, in effect, by letter, to some learned men, whose judgment he respected,

[*w*] Cloppenburg, *Dissertatio de origine et progressu Socinianismi.*—Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563.—Jo. Hern. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 417.

CENT. XVI SECT. III. PART II.

and in whose friendship he could confide [z]. His sentiments were indeed propagated, in a more public manner, after his death; since Faustus, his nephew and his heir, is supposed to have drawn, from the papers he left behind him, that religious system upon which the sect of the Socinians was founded.

The term "Socinian," bears different significations.

II. It is, however, to be observed, that this denomination does not always convey the same ideas, since it is susceptible of different significations, and is, in effect, used sometimes in a more strict and proper, and at others in a more improper and extensive sense. For, according to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed *Socinians*, whose sentiments bear a certain affinity to the system of Socinus; and they are more especially ranked in that class, who either boldly deny, or artfully explain away, the doctrines that assert the *Divine Nature* of Christ, and a *Trinity* of persons in the Godhead. But, in a strict and proper sense, they only are deemed the members of this sect, who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of theological doctrine, which Faustus Socinus either drew up himself or received from his uncle, and delivered to the *Unitarian* brethren, or Socinians, in *Poland* and *Transylvania* [y].

The origin of Socinianism.

III. The origin of *Socinianism* may be traced to the earliest period of the Reformation. For scarcely had

[x] Zanchius, *Præf. ad Libr. de tribus Elohim.*—Beza, *Epist. Volum.* ep. lxxxi. p. 167. Certain writings are attributed to him by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar.* p. 18. but it is very doubtful whether he was the real author of them or not.

[y] We have, hitherto, no complete or accurate history either of the sect called Socinians, or of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, its founders; nor any satisfactory account of those who laboured principally with them, and, after them, in giving a permanent and stable form to this community. For the accounts

had that happy revolution in the state of religion taken place, when a set of men, fond of extremes, and consequently disposed to look upon as erroneous whatever had hitherto been taught and professed in the church of *Rome*, began to undermine the doctrine of Christ's *Divinity*, and the other truths that are connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. The efforts of these men were opposed with united zeal and vigilance by the Romish, Reformed, and Lutheran churches; and their designs were so far disconcerted, as to prevent their forming themselves and their followers into a regular and permanent sect. So early as the year 1524, the *divinity* of Christ was openly denied by Lewis Hetzer, one of the wandering and fanatical *Anabaptists*, who, about three years afterwards, was put to death at *Constance* [z]. There were not wanting among the first Anabaptists, several persons who entertained the opinions of Hetzer; though it would be manifestly unfair

accounts we have of the Socinians, and their principal doctors, from Hornbeck (1), Calovius (2), Cloppenburg (3), Sandius (4), Lubieniecius (5), and Lauterbach (6), are far from being proper to satisfy the curiosity of those, who desire something more than a vague and superficial knowledge of this matter. The history of Socinianism, that was published at Paris by Lami in the year 1723, is a wretched compilation from the most common-place writers on that subject; it is also full of errors, and is loaded with a variety of matters that have no sort of relation to the history of Socinus, or to the doctrine he taught. The very learned and laborious La Croze promised in his *Dissertations Historiques*, tom. i. p. 142. a complete History of Socinianism, from its origin to the present times, but did not fulfil this interesting engagement.

[z] Sandii *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitar.* Jo. Bapt. Ottius, *Annal. Anabaptist.* p. 50.—Breitingeri *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 391. tom. vi. p. 100. 479.

(1) In his Socinianism. Confutat. vol. i.—(2) In his Opera Anti-Socinian.——(3) In his Dissertat. de origine et progressu Socinianismi, tom. ii. opp.—(4) In his Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum.——(5) In his Historia Reformationis Polonicæ.——(6) In his Ariano Socinismus, published in German at Francfort in the year 1725.

fair to lay these opinions to the charge of the whole community. But it was not only from that quarter that erroneous opinions were propagated in relation to the points already mentioned; others seemed to have been seized with the contagion, and it manifested itself from day to day in several countries. John Campanus, a native of *Juliers*, disseminated at *Wittemberg* and other places, various tenets of an heretical aspect; and taught, among other things, that the *Son was inferior to the Father*, and that the *Holy Ghost* was not the title of a *divine person*, but a *denomination* used to denote the *nature* of the *Father* and of the *Son;* and thus did this innovator revive, in a great measure, the errors of the ancient Arians [*a*]. A doctrine of a similar kind was propagated in the year 1530, in *Switzerland*, *Augsburgh*, and among the Grisons, by a person, whose name was Claudius, who, by his opposition to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, excited no small commotions in these countries [*b*]. But none of these new teachers were so far encouraged by the number of their followers, or the indulgence of their adversaries, as to be in a condition to form a regular sect.

Michael Servetus.

IV. The attempts of Michael Servede [*c*], or Servetus, a Spanish physician, were much more

[*a*] See the Dissertation *de Joh. Compano, Anti-Trinitario,* in the *Amœnitates Literariæ* of the very learned Schelhornius, tom. xi. p. 1—92.

[*b*] See Schelhornii *Dissert. Epistol. de Mino Celso Senensi Claudio item Allobrage, homine Fanatico et SS. Trinitatis hoste, Ulmæ* 1748, in 4to.—Jac. Breitingeri *Museum Helvetic.* tom. vii. p. 667.—Jo. Hallerus, *Epistol.* in Jo. Conrad. Fueslin. *Centuria Epistolar. Viror. Eruditor.* p. 140.

[*c*] By taking away the last syllable of this name (I mean the Spanish termination *de*) there remains *Serve*, which, by placing differently the letters that compose it, makes *Reves.* Servetus assumed this latter name in the title-pages of all his books. He also called himself sometimes *Michael Villanovanus*, or *Villanovanus* alone, after the place of his nativity, omitting the name of his family.

more alarming to those who had the cause of true religion at heart, than the feeble and impotent efforts of the innovators now mentioned. This man who has made such a noise in the world, was born at *Villa Neuva*, in the kingdom of *Arragon*, distinguished himself by the superiority of his genius, and had made a considerable progress in various branches of science. In the years 1531, and 1532, he published, in Latin, his *Seven books concerning the errors that are contained in the doctrine of the Trinity*, and his *Two Dialogues* on the same subject, in which he attacked, in the most audacious manner, the sentiments adopted by far the greatest part of the Christian church, in relation to the *Divine Nature*, and a *Trinity* of persons in the *Godhead*. Some years after this he travelled into *France*, and, after a variety of adventures, settled at *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, where he applied himself, with success, to the practice of physic. It was here, that, letting loose the reins of his warm and irregular imagination, he invented that strange system of theology, which was printed, in a clandestine manner, in the year 1553, under the title of *Christianity restored*. The man seemed to be seized with a passion for reforming (in his way), and many things concurred to favour his designs, such as the fire of his genius, the extent of his learning, the power of his eloquence, the strength of his resolution, the obstinacy of his temper, and an external appearance, at least, of piety, that rendered all the rest doubly engaging. Add to all this, the protection and friendship of many persons of weight, in *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, which Servetus had obtained by his talents and abilities both natural and acquired; and it will appear, that few innovators have set out with a better prospect of success. But, notwithstanding these signal advantages, all his views were totally disappointed by the vigilance and severity of Calvin,

Calvin, who, when Servetus had escaped from his prison at *Vienne*, and was passing through *Switzerland*, in order to seek refuge in *Italy*, caused him to be apprehended at *Geneva*, in the year 1553, and had an accusation of blasphemy brought against him before the council [*d*]. The issue of this accusation was fatal to Servetus, who adhering resolutely to the opinions he had embraced, was, by a public sentence of the court, declared an obstinate heretic, and, in consequence thereof, condemned to the flames. For it is observable, that, at this time, the ancient laws that had been enacted against heretics by the emperor Frederic II. and had been so frequently renewed after his reign, were still in vigour at *Geneva*. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this learned and ingenuous sufferer was worthy of a better fate; though it is certain, on the other hand, that his faults were neither few nor trivial; since it is well known, that his excessive arrogance was accompanied with a malignant and contentious spirit, an invincible obstinacy of temper, and a considerable portion of fanaticism [*e*].

V. The

☞ [*d*] This accusation was brought against Servetus by a person, who lived in Calvin's family as a servant; and this circumstance displeased many.

☞ [*e*] Dr. Mosheim refers the reader here, in a note, to an ample and curious history of Servetus, composed by him in the German language, of which the first edition was published at *Helmstadt*, in 4to, in the year 1748, and the second, with considerable additions, at the same place, the year following. Those who are not acquainted with the German language, will find a full account of this singular man, and of his extraordinary history, in a Latin dissertation, composed under the inspection of Dr. Mosheim, and published at *Helmstadt* under the following title: *Historia Michaelis Serveti, quam, Præside Jo. Laur. Mosheimeo, Abbate, &c. placido Doctorum examini publice exponit* Henricus ab Allwaerden. There is an accurate history of this unhappy man in the first volume of the work, entitled, *Memoirs of Literature, containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning, both at home and abroad.*

The doctrine of Servetus.

V. The religious system that Servetus had struck out, of a wild and irregular fancy, was, indeed, singular in the highest degree. The greatest part of it was a necessary consequence of his peculiar notions concerning the *universe*, the *nature of God*, and the *nature of things*, which were equally strange and chimerical. Thus it is difficult to unfold, in a few words, the doctrine of this unhappy man; nor, indeed, would any detail render it intelligible in all its branches. He took it into his head that the true and genuine doctrine of Christ had been entirely lost, even before the council of *Nice;* and he was, moreover, of opinion, that it had never been delivered with a sufficient degree of precision and perspicuity in any period of the church. To these extravagant assertions he added another still more so, even that he himself had received a commission from above to reveal anew this divine doctrine, and to explain it to mankind. His notions with respect to the Supreme Being, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, were obscure and chimerical beyond all measure, and amounted in general to the following

abroad. This was composed by Monsieur de la Roche, and was afterwards augmented by him, and translated into French in his *Bibliotheque Angloise,* tom. ii. part I. article vii. p. 76.— There is also an account of Servetus given by Mackenzie, in the first volume of his *Lives and characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots nation,* which was published at *Edinburgh,* in the year 1708. To these we may add *An Impartial History of* Servetus, &c. written by an anonymous author, and published at *London* in 1724.

It is impossible to justify the conduct of Calvin in the case of Servetus, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent Reformer. The only thing that can be alleged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit, which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of popery in the breast of Calvin that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched Servetus.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

ing propositions: That "the *Deity*, before the creation of the world, had produced within himself "two *personal representations*, or *manners of* "*existence* [*f*], which were to be the *medium* of "intercourse between him and mortals, and by "whom consequently, he was to reveal his will, and "to display his mercy and beneficence to the children of men; that these two representatives were "the *Word* and the *Holy Ghost;* that the former "was united to the man Christ, who was born of "the Virgin Mary by an omnipotent act of the "divine will; and that, on this account, Christ, "might be properly called *God;* that the *Holy* "*Spirit* directed the course, and animated the "whole system of nature; and more especially "produced in the minds of men wise councils, "virtuous propensities, and divine feelings; and, "finally, that these two *Representations* were to "cease after the destruction of this terrestrial "globe, and to be absorbed into the *substance* of "the *Deity*, from whence they had been formed." This is, at least, a general sketch of the doctrine of Servetus, who, however, did not always explain his system in the same manner, nor take any pains to avoid inconsistencies and contradictions; and who frequently expressed himself in such ambiguous terms, that it is extremely difficult to learn from them his true sentiments. His system of morality agreed in many circumstances with that of the *Anabaptists;* whom he also imitated in censuring, with the utmost severity, the custom of *Infant-Baptism.*

Other Anti-Trinitarians.

VI. The pompous plans of Reformation, that had been formed by Servetus, were not only disconcerted, but even fell into oblivion, after the death

☞ [*f*] These *representations*, or *manners of existence*, Servetus also called *œconomies, dispensations, dispositions*, &c. for he often changed his terms in unfolding his visionary system.

death of their author. He was, indeed, according to vulgar report, supposed, to have left behind him a considerable number of disciples; and we find in the writings of the doctors of this century, many complaints and apprehensions that seem to confirm this supposition, and would persuade us that Servetus had really founded a sect; yet, when this matter is attentively examined, there will appear just reason to doubt, whether this man left behind him any one person that might properly be called his true disciple. For those who were denominated *Servetians* by the theological writers of this century, not only differed from Servetus in many points of doctrine, but also varied widely from him in his doctrine of the Trinity, which was the peculiar and distinguishing point of his theological system. Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who suffered death at *Bern*, in the year 1566, adopted the Arian hypothesis, and not that of Servetus, as many writers have imagined; for his only error consisted in this, that he considered the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*, as subordinate to the *Father* [*g*]. Nearly allied to this, was the doctrine of Matthew Gribaldi, a lawyer, whom a timely death in the year 1566, saved from the severity of an ecclesiastical tribunal, that was ready to pronounce sentence against him on account of his errors; for he supposed the *divine nature* divided into *three eternal spirits*, which were distinguished from each other, not only by *number*, but also by *subordination* [*h*]. It is not so easy to determine the particular

[*g*] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Gentilis*.—Spon. *Hist. de Geneve*, livr. iii. tom. ii. p. 80.—Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 26.—Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part. II. ch. vi. p. 251.—Fuesl. *Reformations. Beytrage*, tom. v. p. 381.

[*h*] Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 17.—Lamy, *loc. cit.* part II. ch. vii. p. 257.—Spon, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85. not.—Halerus, in *Museo Tigurino*, tom. ii. p. 114.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

ticular charge that was brought against Alciat, a native of *Piedmont*, and Sylvester Tellius, who were banished from the city and territory of *Geneva*, in the year 1559; nor do we know, with any degree of certainty, the errors that were embraced by Paruta, Leonardi, and others [*i*], who were ranked among the followers of Servetus. It is, however, more than probable, that none of the persons now mentioned were the disciples of Servetus, or adopted the hypothesis of that visionary innovator. The same thing may be affirmed with respect to Gonesius, who is said to have embraced the doctrine of that unhappy man, and to have introduced it into *Poland* [*k*]; for, though he maintained some opinions that really resembled it in some of its points; yet his manner of explaining the mystery of the Trinity was totally different from that of Servetus.

Erroneous accounts of the origin of Socinianism.

VII. It is evident that none of the persons, now mentioned, professed that form or system of theological

[*i*] For an account of these, and other persons of the same class, see Sandius, Lamy, and also Lubieniecius, his *Historia Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96.—There is a particular and ample account of Alciat given by Bayle, in the first volume of his *Dictionary*; see also Spon, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85, 86.

[*k*] This is affirmed upon the authority of Wissowatius and Lubieniecius; but the very words of the latter will be sufficient to shew us upon what grounds. These words (*Hist. Reformat. Polon.* cap. vi. p. 111.) are as follows: "Is serveti sententiam de præ eminentia patris in patriam attulit, eamque non dissimulavit," *i. e.* Gonesius introduced into *Poland* the opinion embraced by Servetus in relation to the pre-eminence of the Father, and was by no means studious to conceal it. Who now does not see, that, if it was the *pre-eminence of the Father* that Gonesius maintained, he must have differed considerably from Servetus, whose doctrine removed all *real* distinction in the divine nature? The reader will do well to consult Sandius (*loc. cit.* p. 40.) concerning the sentiments of Gonesius; since it is from this writer, that Lamy has borrowed the greatest part of what he has advanced in his *Histoire Socinianisme*, tom. ii. chap. x. p. 278.

logical doctrine, that is properly called *Socinianism*, the origin of which is, by the writers of that sect, dated from the year 1546, and placed in *Italy*. These writers tell us, that, in this very year, above forty persons eminently distinguished by their learning and genius, and still more by their generous zeal for truth, held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of *Venice*, and particularly at *Vicenza*, in which they deliberated concerning a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and, in a more especial manner, undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterwards publicly rejected by the Socinians. They tell us farther, that the principal members of this clandestine society, were Lælius, Socinus, Alciat, Ochinus, Paruta, and Gentilis; that their design was divulged, and their meetings discovered, by the temerity and imprudence of some of their associates; that two of them were apprehended and put to death; while the rest, being dispersed, sought a refuge in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Moravia*, and other countries, and that Socinus, after having wandered up and down in several parts of *Europe*, went into *Poland*, first in the year 1551, and afterwards in 1558, and there sowed the seeds of his doctrine, which, in process of time, grew apace, and produced a rich and abundant harvest [*l*]. Such is the

[*l*] See the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit.* p. 18. & 25. of Sandius, who mentions some writings that are supposed to have been published by the clandestine society of pretended Reformers at *Venice* and *Vicenza;* though the truth of this supposition is extremely dubious;—Andr. Wissowatii *Narratio quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt*, which is subjoined in the *Biblioth.* of Sandius, p. 209, 210.—The reader may likewise consult Lubieniecius, *Histor. Reformat. Polon.* lib. ii. cap. i. p. 38. who intimates, that he took this account of the origin of Socinianism from the manuscript *Commentaria* of Budzinus, and his *Life* of Lælius Socinus. See also Sam. Przipcovius, *in Vita Socini.*

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

the account of the origin of Socinianism, that is generally given by the writers of that sect. To assert that it is, in every circumstance, fictitious and false, would perhaps be going too far; but, on the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the system of religion, commonly called *Socinianism*, was neither invented nor drawn up in those meetings at *Venice* and *Vicenza*, that have been now mentioned [*m*].

VIII. While,

[*m*] See Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfini*, cap. ii. sect. xli. p. 321. note.—This writer seems to think that the inquiries that have hitherto been made into this affair are by no means satisfactory; and he therefore wishes that some men of learning, equal to the task, would examine the subject anew.—This, indeed, were much to be wished. In the mean time, I shall venture to offer a few observations, which may perhaps contribute to cast some light upon this matter. That there was, in reality, such a society as is mentioned in the text, is far from being improbable. Many circumstances and relations prove sufficiently, that immediately after the Reformation had taken place in *Germany*, secret assemblies were held, and measures proposed in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of *Rome*, with a view to combat the errors and superstitions of the times. It is also, in a more especial manner, probable, that the territory of *Venice* was the scene of these deliberations; since it is well known, that a great number of the Venetians at this time though they had no personal attachment to Luther, approved nevertheless, of his design of reforming the corrupt state of religion, and wished well to every attempt that was made to restore Christianity to its native and primitive simplicity. It is farther highly credible, that these assemblies were interrupted and dispersed by the vigilance of the papal emissaries, that some of their members were apprehended and put to death, and that the rest saved themselves by flight. All this is probable enough; but it is extremely improbable, nay, utterly incredible, that all the persons, who are said to have been present at these assemblies, were really so. And I therefore adopt willingly the opinion of those who affirm, that many persons, who, in after-times, distinguished themselves from the multitude by opposing the doctrine of the *Trinity in Unity*, were considered as members of the Venetian society, by ignorant writers, who looked upon that society as the source and nursery of the whole Unitarian sect. It is certain for instance, that Ochinus is erroneously placed among the members

VIII. While, therefore, we reject this inaccurate account of the matter under consideration, it is

The real origin of Socinianism.

bers of the famous society now mentioned; for, not to insist upon the circumstance, that it is not sufficiently clear whether he was really a Socinian or not, it appears undeniably, from the *Annales Capucinorum* of Boverius, as well as from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left *Italy* so early as the year 1543, and went from thence to *Geneva*. See a singular book, entitled, *La Guerre Seraphique, ou l'Histoire des perils qu'a courus la Barbe des Capuchins*, livr. iii. p. 191. 216.—What I have said of Ochinus may be confidently affirmed with respect to Lælius Socinus, who, though reported to have been at the head of the society now under consideration, was certainly never present at any of its meetings. For how can we suppose that a young man, only one-and-twenty years old, would leave the place of his nativity, repair to *Venice* or *Vicenza*, and that without any other view than the pleasure of disputing freely on certain points of religion *? Or, how could it happen that a youth of such unexperienced years should acquire such a high degree of influence and authority, as to obtain the first rank, and the principal direction, in an assembly composed of so many eminently learned and ingenious men? Besides, from the Life of Lælius, which is still extant, and from other testimonies of good authority, it is easy to shew, that it was the desire of improvement, and the hope of being aided in his inquiries after truth, by the conversation of learned men in foreign nations, that induced him to leave *Italy*, and not the apprehension of persecution and death, as some have imagined. It is also certain, that he returned into his native country afterwards, and, in the year 1551, remained some time at *Sienna*, while his father lived at *Bologna*. See his letter to Bullinger, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489. Now surely it cannot easily be imagined, that a man in his senses would return to a country from whence, but a few years before, he had been obliged to fly, in order to avoid the terrors of a barbarous inquisition and a violent death.

But, waving this question for a moment, let us suppose all the accounts we have from the Socinians, concerning this famous assembly of *Venice* and *Vicenza*, and the members of which it was composed, to be true and exact; yet it remains to be proved, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that assembly. This the Socinian writers maintain; and this, as the case appears to me, may be safely

☞ * Is such a supposition really so absurd? Is not a spirit of enthusiasm, or even an uncommon degree of zeal, adequate to the production of such an effect.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

is incumbent upon us to substitute a better in its place; and, indeed, the origin and progress of the Socinian doctrine seem easy to be traced out by such as are acquainted with the history of the church during this century. There were certain sects and doctors, against whom the zeal, vigilance and severity of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were united, and, in opposing whose settlement and progress, these three communions, forgetting their dissensions, joined their most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects of their

denied. For the Socinian doctrine is undoubtedly of much later date than this assembly; it also passed through different hands, and was, during many years, reviewed and corrected by men of learning and genius, and thus underwent various changes and improvements, before it was formed into a regular, permanent, and connected system. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an eye upon the opinions, doctrines, and reasonings, of several of the members of this famous society, so often mentioned; which vary in such a striking manner, as shew manifestly that this society had no fixed views, nor had ever agreed upon any consistent form of doctrine. We learn, moreover, from many circumstances in the life and transactions of Lælius Socinus, that this man had not, when he left Italy, laid the plan of a regular system of religion; and it is well known, that, for many years afterwards, his time was spent in doubting, inquiring, and disputing; and that his ideas of religious matters were extremely fluctuating and unsettled. So that it seems probable to me, that the man died in this state of hesitation and uncertainty, before he had reduced his notions to any consistent form. As to Gribaldi and Alciat, who have been already mentioned, it is manifest that they inclined towards the Arian system, and did not entertain such low ideas of the person and dignity of Jesus Christ, as those that are adopted among the Socinians. From all this it appears abundantly evident, that these Italian Reformers if their famous society ever existed in reality (which I admit here as a probable supposition, rather than as a fact sufficiently attested) were dispersed and obliged to seek their safety in a voluntary exile, before they had agreed about any regular system of religious doctrine. So that this account of the origin of Socinianism is rather imaginary than real, though it has been inconsiderately adopted by many writers. Fueslin has alleged several arguments against it in his German work, entitled, *Reformationis Beytragen*, tom. iii. p. 327.

their common aversion, were the *Anabaptists*, and those who denied the *Divinity* of Christ, and a *Trinity* of Persons in the Godhead. To avoid the unhappy consequences of such a formidable opposition, great numbers of both classes retired into *Poland*, from this persuasion, that in a country whose inhabitants were passionately fond of freedom, religious liberty could not fail to find a refuge. However, on their first arrival, they proceeded with circumspection and prudence, and explained their sentiments with much caution, and a certain mixture of disguise, not knowing surely what might happen, nor how far their opinions would be treated with indulgence. Thus they lived in peace and quiet during several years, mixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had already obtained a solid settlement in *Poland*, and who admitted them into their communion, and even into the assemblies where their public deliberations were held. They were not, however, long satisfied with this state of constraint, notwithstanding the privileges with which it was attended; but, having insinuated themselves into the friendship of several noble and opulent families, they began to act with more spirit, and even to declare in an open manner, their opposition to certain doctrines that were generally received among Christians. Hence arose violent contests between them and the Swiss, or Reformed churches, with which they had been principally connected. These dissensions drew the attention of the government, and occasioned, in the year 1565, a resolution of the diet of *Petrikow*, ordering the innovators to separate themselves from the churches already mentioned, and to form a distinct congregation or sect [*n*]. These founders

[*n*] Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part I. chap. vi. &c. p. 16.—Stoinii *Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*, apud Sandium,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

founders of the Socinian church were commonly called *Pinczovians*, from the town in which the heads of their sect resided. Hitherto, indeed, they had not carried matters so far as they did afterwards; for they professed chiefly the Arian doctrine concerning the divine nature, maintaining that the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost* were two distinct natures, begotten by *God the Father*, and subordinate to him [*o*].

The progress of Socinianism.

IX. The *Unitarians*, being thus separated from the other religious societies in *Poland*, had many difficulties to encounter, both of an internal and external kind. From without, they were threatened with a formidable prospect arising from the united efforts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to crush their infant sect. From within, they dreaded the effects of intestine discord, which portended the ruin of their community before it could arrive at any measure of stability or consistence. This latter apprehension was too well grounded; for, as yet, they had agreed upon no regular system of principles, which might serve as a centre and bond of union. Some of them chose to persevere in the doctrine of the Arians, and

Sandium, p. 183.—Georg. Schomanni *Testamentum*, apud *eundem*. p. 194.—Andr. Wissowatius *do Separatione Unitar. a Reformatis*, ibid. p. 211, 212.—Lubieniecius, *Histor. Reformat. Polonicæ*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 111. cap. viii. p. 144. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158.

[*o*] This will appear abundantly evident to all such as consult, with a proper degree of attention, the writers mentioned in the preceding note. It is unquestionably certain, that all those, who then called themselves *Unitarian Brethren*, did not entertain the same sentiments concerning the Divine Nature. Some of the most eminent doctors of that sect adopted the notions relating to the *person* and *dignity* of Christ, that were in after-times, peculiar to the Socinians; the greatest part of them, however, embraced the Arian system, and affirmed, that our blessed Saviour was created before the formation of the world, by *God the Father*, to whom he was much inferior, nevertheless, in dignity and perfection.

and to proceed no further; and these were called *Farnovians* [*p*]. Others, more adventurous, went much greater lengths, and attributed to Christ almost no other rank or dignity than those of a divine messenger, and of a true prophet. A third class, distinguished by the denomination of *Budneians* [*q*], went still further; declaring that Jesus Christ was born in an ordinary way, according to the general law of nature, and that, consequently, he was no proper object of divine worship or adoration [*r*]. There were also among these people several fanatics, who were desirous of introducing into the society, the discipline of the enthusiastic Anabaptists; such as a community of goods, an equality of ranks, and other absurdities of the same nature [*s*]. Such were the disagreeable and perilous circumstances in which the *Unitarians* were placed during the infancy of their sect, and which no doubt, rendered their situation extremely critical and perplexing. But they were happily extricated out of these difficulties by the dexterity and resolution of certain of their doctors, whose efforts were crowned with singular success, on account of the credit and influence they had obtained in *Poland*. These Unitarian doctors suppressed in a little time, the factions that threatened the ruin of their community, erected flourishing congregations at *Cracow*, *Lublin*, *Pinczow*, *Luck*, *Smila* [*t*] (a town belonging

☞ [*p*] For a more particular account of the Farnovians, see sect. xxii. of this chapter.

[*q*] See the part of this chapter referred to in the preceding note.

[*r*] *Vita Andr. Wissowatii* in Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 226.—As also Sandius in *Simone Budnæo.* p. 54.

[*s*] Lubieniecii *Hist. Reform. Polon.* lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.

[*t*] Mart. Adelt, *Historia Arianismi Smiglicnsis, Ged.* 1741, in 8vo.

ing to the famous Dudith [*u*]), and in several other places, both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and obtained the privilege of printing their productions, and those of their brethren, without molestation or restraint [*w*]. All these advantages were crowned by a signal mark of liberality and munificence, they received from Jo. Sienienius, palatine of *Padolia*, who gave them a settlement in the city of *Racow*, which he had himself built, in the year

☞ [*u*] This Dudith, who was certainly one of the most learned, and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda, in the year 1533; and after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of Europe, was named to the bishoprick of *Tinia* by the emperor Ferdinard, and made privy counsellor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius, and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council, where he was sent in the name of the emperor and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recal him. Ferdinand complied: but having heard Dudith's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishoprick of Chonat. He afterwards married a maid of honour of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishoprick; the emperor, however, still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of Rome, he retired to *Cracow*, where he embraced the protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said that he shewed some inclination towards the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain, that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times, with his own hand, the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.

[*w*] Sandii *Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.* p. 201.

year 1569, in the district of *Sendomir* [*x*]. This extraordinary favour was peculiarly adapted to better the state of the Unitarians, who were, hitherto, dispersed far and wide in the midst of their enemies. And accordingly they now looked upon their religious establishment as permanent and stable, and presumed so far upon their good fortune, as to declare *Racow* the centre of their community, where their distant and dispersed members might unite their counsels, and hold their deliberations.

A summary view of the religion they professed.

X. When they saw their affairs in this promising situation, the first thing that employed the attention and zeal of their doctors and spiritual rulers, was a translation of the Bible into the Polish language, which was accordingly published in the year 1572. They had, indeed, before this, a Polish version of the sacred writings, which they had composed, jointly with the Helvetic doctors, in the year 1565, while they lived in communion with that church: But after the breach of that communion, and the order they had received to separate themselves from the Reformed church, this Version lost its credit among them, as it did not seem proper to answer their views [*y*]. After they had finished their new Version, they drew up a summary of their religious doctrine, which was published at *Cracow*, in the year 1574, under the title of *Catechism*, or *Confession* of the *Unitarians* [*z*]. The system of

 religion

[*x*] Sandius, *loc. citat.* p. 201.—Lubieniecius, *loc. cit.* p. 239.

[*y*] See a German work of Ringeltaube, entitled, *Von den Pohlnischen Bibeln*, p. 90. 113. 142. in which there is a further account of the Polish interpretations of the Bible composed by Socinian authors.

[*z*] From this little performance, and indeed from it alone, we may learn with certainty the true state of the Unitarian religion before Faustus Socinus; and, nevertheless, I do not find that it has been so much as once quoted, or even mentioned by any of the Socinian writers, by any historians who have given an

religion that is contained in this Cathechism, is remarkable for its simplicity, and is neither loaded with an account of their sect, nor yet by any of the divines that have drawn the pen of controversy against their religious system. I am almost inclined to believe, that the Socinians (when in process of time they had gained ground, acquired more dexterity in the management of their affairs, and drawn up a new, specious, and artful summary of their doctrine) were prudent enough to desire that this primitive catechism should disappear, that it might not furnish their adversaries with an occasion of accusing them of inconstancy in abandoning the tenets of their ancestors, nor excite factions and divisions among themselves, by inducing any of their people to complain that they had deviated from the ancient simplicity of their first founders. These reasons, very probably, engaged the Socinian doctors to buy up all the copies they could find, of this original *Confession* or catechism, with a view to bury it in oblivion. It will not therefore, be improper to give here some account of the form and matter of this first Socinian creed, which contained the doctrine of that sect before the *Racovian Catechism* was composed. This account will throw new light upon a period and branch of ecclesiastical History that are highly interesting. The original Catechism now under consideration, which is extremely rare, has the following title prefixed to it: "Catechism, or Confession of faith of the Congregation assembled in Poland in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified and raised from the dead—Deuter. vi. Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God—John viii. 54. It is my Father—of whom ye say that he is your God. Printed by Alexander Turobinus, born in the year of Christ, the Son of God, 1574," in 12mo, (1). We find, by a passage at the end of the Preface, that this curious Catechism, was printed at *Cracow*, for it is said to have been published in that city, in the year 1574, after the birth of Christ. Now it is known that the Unitarians had, at that time, a printing-house at *Cracow*, which was soon after removed to *Racow*. Alexander Turobinus, who is said to have been the printer of this little production, is mentioned by Sandius (in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 51.) under the denomination of Turobinczyck, which he undoubtedly derived from *Turobin*, a town in the Palatinate of Chelm, in Little, or Red Russia, which was the place of his nativity. The author of this Catechism was

(1) The original title runs thus; "Catechesis et Confessio fidei cœtus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi, Domine nostri crucifixi et resuscitati, Deut. vi. Audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster Deus unus est, Johannis viii. dicit. Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est pater meus Typis Alexandri Turobini, anno nati Jesu Christi, filii Dei, 1574," in 12mo.

with scholastic terms nor subtile discussions; but it nevertheless breathes, in several places, the spirit

was the famous George Schoman, as has been evidently proved from a piece entitled, *Schomanni Testamentum* (2), and other circumstances, by Jo. Adam Mullerus, in his Dissert. *De Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium* (3). The Preface, which is composed in the name of the whole congregation, begins with the following salutation: "To all those who thirst after eternal salvation, the *little* and *afflicted flock* in Poland, which is baptised in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, sendeth greeting; praying most earnestly that grace and peace may be shed upon them by the one supreme God and Father, through his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified" (4). After this general salutation, the Prefacers give an account of the reasons that engaged them to compose and publish this confession. The principal of these reasons was, the reproaches and aspersions that were cast upon the Anabaptists, in several places; from which we learn, that, at this time, the denomination of *Anabaptists* was given to those, who in after times, were called *Socinians*. The rest of this Preface is employed in beseeching the reader to be firmly persuaded, that the designs of the congregation are pious and upright, to read with attention, that he may judge with discernment, and "abandoning the doctrine of Babylon, and the conduct and conversation of Sodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah" *i. e.* among the Unitarian brethren.

In the beginning of the Catechism itself, the whole doctrine of Christianity is reduced to six points. The first relates to the *Nature* of God, and his Son Jesus Christ; the second to *Justification;* the third to *Discipline;* the fourth to *Prayer;* the fifth to *Baptism;* and the sixth to the *Lord's Supper*. These six points are explained at length, in the following manner: Each point is defined and unfolded in general terms, in one question and answer, and is afterwards subdivided into its several branches in various questions and answers, in which its different parts are illustrated and confirmed by texts of Scripture. From this it appears, at first sight, that the primitive state of Socinianism was a state of real infancy and weakness, that its doctors were by no means distinguished by the depth or accuracy

(2) This testament is published by Sandius in his Biblioth. Anti-Trin. p. 51.

(3) The Dissertation of Mollerus is to be found in a collection of pieces published by Bartholomæus under the following title: "Fortgesezten nutzlichen Ammerckungen von allerhand Materien," part xxi. p. 758.

(4) Omnibus salutem æternam fitientibus, gratiam ac pacem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum crucifixum, ex animo precatur coetus exigus et afflictus per Poloniam, in nomine jeusdem Jesu Christi Nazarenzi baptizatus.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

spirit of Socinianism, and that even in those parts of it which its authors look upon as most important

racy of their theological knowledge, and that they instructed their flock in a superficial manner, by giving them only some vague notions of certain leading doctrines and precepts of religion. In their definition of the *Nature of God*, with which this Catechism begins, the authors discover immediately their sentiments concerning Jesus Christ, by declaring that he, together with all other things, is subject to the Supreme Creator of the universe. It may also be observed, as a proof of the ignorance or negligence of these authors, that, in illustrating the nature and perfections of the Deity, they make not the least mention of his infinity, his omniscience, his immensity, his eternity, his omnipotence, his omnipresence, his spirituality, nor of those other perfections of the divine nature that surpass the comprehension of finite minds. Instead of this, they characterize the Supreme Being only by his wisdom, his immortality, his goodness, and unbounded dominion and empire over the creatures. By this it would seem, that even at this early period of Socinianism, the rulers of that sect had adopted it as a maxim, that nothing incomprehensible or mysterious was to be admitted into their religious system.—Their erroneous notion concerning Jesus Christ is expressed in the following terms: "Our mediator before the throne of God is a man who was formerly promised to our fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, and whom God the Father has made Lord and Christ; that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most triumphant king, by whom he created the *new* world (5), by whom he sent peace upon earth, restored all things, and reconciled them to himself; and by whom also he has bestowed eternal life upon his elect; to the end that, after the Supreme God, we should believe in him, adore and invoke him, hear his voice, imitate his example, and find in him rest to our souls" (6). It is here worthy of note, that although they call Christ *a most holy priest*, and justify this title

(5) This expression is remarkable; for these doctors maintained, that these declarations of Scripture, which represent the world as formed by Christ, do not relate to the visible world, but to the restoration of mankind, to virtue and happiness by the Son of God. They invented this interpretation to prevent their being obliged to acknowledge the divine glory and creating power of Christ.

(6) Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum, sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam æternam electis suis donavit: ut in illum, post Deum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitamur, et, in illo, requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.

ant and fundamental. Nor will this appear surprising to those who consider, that the papers of Lælius

title by citations from Scripture, yet they no where explain the nature of that priesthood, which they attribute to him.—With respect to the Holy Ghost, they plainly deny his being a *divine* person, and represent him as nothing more than a divine quality, or virtue, as appears from the following passage: "The Holy Ghost is the energy or perfection of God, whose fulness God the Father bestowed upon his only begotten Son, our Lord, that we becoming his adopted children, might receive of his fulness" (7).—They express their sentiments concerning *Justification* in the ensuing terms: "Justification consists in the remission of all our past sins, through the mere grace and mercy of God, in, and by our Lord Jesus Christ, without our merits and works, and in consequence of a lively faith; as also in the certain hope of life eternal, and the true and unfeigned amendment of our lives and conversations, through the assistance of the divine Spirit, to the glory of God the Father, and the edification of our neighbours" (8). As by this inaccurate definition justification comprehends in it amendment and obedience, so, in the explication of this point, our authors break in upon the following one, which relates to *Discipline*, and lay down a short summary of moral doctrine, which is contained in a few precepts, and expressed for the most part in the language of Scripture. There is this peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the taking of oaths and the repelling of injuries. As to what regards *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, they define it thus: "Ecclesiastical discipline consists in calling frequently to the remembrance of every individual, the duties that are incumbent upon them; in admonishing, first privately, and afterwards, if this be ineffectual, in a public manner, before the whole congregation, such as have sinned openly against God, or offended their neighbour; and, lastly, in excluding from the communion of the church the obstinate and impenitent, that being thus covered with shame, they may be led to repentance, or, if they remain unconverted, may be damned eternally" (9). By their further explication

(7) Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, ut ex ejus plenitudine nos adoptivi acciperemus.

(8) Justificatio est ex mera gratia, der Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, vitæque æternæ indubitata expectatio et auxilio spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata, sed vero correctio, ad gloriam Dei patri nostri et ædificationem proximorum nostrorum.

(9) Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singulorum frequens commemoratio et peccantium contra Deum vel proximum primum priva, deinde etiam publica, corum toto cœtu, commonefactio, denique pertinacium a communione sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut si id nolint, æternum damnentur.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

Lælius Socinus, which he undoubtedly left behind him in *Poland*, were in the hands of many; and that, by the perusal of them, the Arians, who had formerly the upper hand in the community of the Unitarians, were engaged to change their sentiments concerning the nature and mediation of Christ.

explication of the point relating to ecclesiastical discipline, we see how imperfect and incomplete their notions of that matter were. For they treat in the first place, concerning the government of the church and its ministers, whom they divide into bishops, deacons, elders, and widows. After this they enumerate, at length, the duties of husbands and wives, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, citizens and magistrates, poor and rich; and conclude with what relates to the admonishing of offenders, and their exclusion from the communion of the church, in case of obstinate impenitence. Their sentiments concerning *Prayer*, are, generally speaking, sound and rational. But in their notion of *Baptism*, they differ from other Christian churches in this, that they make it to consist in *immersion* or dipping, and *emersion* or rising again out of the water, and maintain that it ought not to be administered to any but adult persons. "Baptism, say they, is the immersion into water, and the emersion of one who believes in the gospel, and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ alone; by which solemn act the person baptized publicly acknowledgeth, that he is cleansed from all his sins, through the mercy of God the Father, by the blood of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, to the end that, being ingrafted into the body of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the image of the new and heavenly Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection" (10). The last point handled in this performance is the *sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, of which the authors give an explication that will be readily adopted by those who embrace the doctrine of Zuingle on that head. At the end of this curious Catechism there is a piece entitled, "Oeconomia Christiana, seu Pastoratus Domesticus," which contain a short instruction to heads of families, shewing them how they ought to proceed in order to maintain and increase in

(10) Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et pœnitentiam agentis in nomine Patris, et filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice profitetur, se gratia Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut, in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum et transformetur in Adamum illum cœlestum, certus, se post resurrectionem consequnturum esse vitam æternam.

Christ [*a*]. It is true, indeed, that the denomination of *Socinian* was not as yet known. Those who were afterwards distinguished by this title, passed into *Poland*, at the time of which we now speak, under the name of *Anabaptists*, because they admitted to baptism adult persons only, and also rebaptized those that joined them from other Christian churches [*b*]. XI.

in their houses a spirit of piety; in which also their devotion is assisted by forms of prayer, composed for morning, evening, and other occasions.

The copy of this Catechism, which is now before me, was given, in the year 1680, by Martin Chelmius, one of the most eminent and zealous Socinian doctors, to Mr. Christopher Heiligmier, as appears by a long inscription, written by the donor, at the end of the book. In this inscription Chelmius promises his friend other productions of the same kind, provided he receives the present one kindly, and concludes with these words of St. Paul; *God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong.*

[*a*] This appears evidently from the following passage in Schoman's *Testamentum* (published by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.*) p. 194, 195. "Sub. id fere tempus (A. 1566.) exrhapsodiis Lælii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam, patri coëssentialem et cœqualem, sed hominum Jesum Christum, ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum, et resuscitatem; a quibus nos commoniti, *sacras literas perscrutari*, persuasi sumus." These words shew plainly, that the Unitarians, or *Pinczovians*, as they were sometimes called, had, before their separation from the Reformed church in the year 1565, believed in a *Trinity* of some kind or other; and had not gone so far as totally to divest Jesus Christ of his divinity. Schoman, now cited, was a doctor of great authority in this sect; and he tells us, himself, that, at the diet of Petricow, in the year 1565, he defended the *unity of God the Father*, against the Reformed, who maintained *the existence of a threefold Deity.* We learn nevertheless from himself, that it was not till the year 1566, that a perusal of the papers of Lælius Socinus had engaged him to change his sentiments, and to deny the *divine personality* of Christ. What then are we to conclude from hence? The conclusion is plainly this: that, before the year last mentioned, he and his *Pinczovian* flock were not Socinians, but Arians only.

[*b*] This the *Unitarians* acknowledge, in the *Preface* of that *Catechism*, as we have observed above; and it is confirmed

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

The proceedings of Faustus Socinus.

XI. The dexterity and perseverance of Faustus Socinus gave a new face to the sect of the Unitarians, of which he became the zealous and industrious patron. He was a man of true genius, but of little learning; firm in his purposes, and steady in his measures; much inferior in knowledge to his uncle Lælius, while he surpassed him greatly in courage and resolution. This eminent sectary, after having wandered through several countries of *Europe*, settled in the year 1579, among the *Unitarians* in *Poland*, and at his arrival there suffered many vexations and much opposition from a considerable number of persons, who looked upon some of his tenets as highly erroneous. And, indeed, it is evident, that the religious system of Faustus Socinus, which he is said to have drawn from the papers of his uncle Lælius, was much less remarkable for its simplicity than that of the *Unitarians*. He triumphed, however, at last, over all the difficulties that had been laid in his way, by the power of his eloquence, the spirit and address that reigned in his compositions, the elegance and gentleness of his manner, the favour and protection of the nobility, which he had acquired by his happy talents and accomplishments, and also by some lucky hits of fortune that favoured his enterprizes. By seizing the occasions when it was prudent to yield, and improving the moments that demanded bold resistance and firm resolution, he stemmed dexterously and courageously the torrent of opposition, and beheld the *Unitarians* submitting to his doctrine,

firmed by the writer of the *Epistola de Vita Andr. Wissowatii*, which is subjoined to the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trin.* of Sandius. This writer tells us, that his sect were distinguished by the denomination of *Anabaptists* and *Arians;* but that all other Christian communities and individuals in *Poland* were promiscuously called *Chrzesciani*, from the word *Chrzest*, which signifies *Baptism*.

trine, which they had before treated with indignation and contempt. They, in effect, laid aside all feuds and controversies, and formed themselves into one community under his superintendency and direction [*c*].

The Unitarian religion changed by Socinus.

XII. Thus did Socinus introduce a considerable change into the ancient Unitarian system, which, before his time, was ill digested, ill expressed, and chargeable in many places with ambiguity and incoherence. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an air of connection, method, and elegance, and defended it with much more dexterity and art, than had ever been discovered by its former patrons [*d*]. And, accordingly, the

[*c*] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Socinus*, tom. iv. p. 2741.—Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trin.* p. 64.—Sam. Przypcopii *Vita Socini*, which is prefixed to the works of Socinus.—Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part I. ch. xxiv. p. 101. part II. ch. xxii. p. 375, &c.

[*d*] Hence it appears, that the modern *Unitarians* are very properly called *Socinians*. For certainly the formation and establishment of that sect were entirely owing to the labours of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. The former, indeed, who was naturally timorous and irresolute, died at *Zurich*, in the year 1560, in the communion of the Reformed church, and seemed unwilling to expose himself to danger, or to sacrifice his repose, by founding a new sect, that is, by appearing professedly and openly in this enterprize. Besides, many circumstances concur to render it highly probable, that he did not finish the religious system of which he had formed the plan, but died, on the contrary, in a state of uncertainty and doubt with respect to several points of no small importance. But, notwithstanding all this, he contributed much to the institution of the sect now under consideration. For he collected the materials that Faustus afterwards digested and employed with such dexterity and success. He secretly and imperceptibly excited doubts and scruples in the minds of many, concerning several doctrines generally received among Christians; and, by several arguments against the divinity of Christ, which he left behind him committed to writing, he so far seduced, even after his death, the Arians in *Poland*, that they embraced the communion and sentiments of those, who looked upon Christ as a mere man, created immediately, like Adam,

the affairs of the *Unitarians* put on a new face. Under the auspicious protection of such a spirited and insinuating chief; the little flock, that had been hitherto destitute of strength, resolution, and courage, grew apace, and all of a sudden, arose to a high degree of credit and influence. Its number was augmented by proselytes of all ranks and orders. Of these, some were distinguished by their nobility, others by their opulence, others by their address, and many by their learning and eloquence. All these contributed, in one way or another, to increase the lustre, and to advance the interests of this rising community, and to support it against the multitude of adversaries, which its remarkable prosperity and success had raised up against it from all quarters: the rich maintained it by their liberality, the powerful by their patronage and protection, and the learned by their writings. But now the system of the *Unitarians*, being thus changed and new-modelled, required a new confession of faith to make known its principles, and give a clear and full account of its present state. The ancient *Catechism*, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was therefore laid aside, and a new form of doctrine was drawn up by Socinus himself. This form was corrected by some, augmented by others, and revised by all the Socinian doctors of any note; and, having thus acquired a competent degree of accuracy

Adam, by God himself. What Lælius had thus begun, Faustus carried on with vigour, and finished with success. It is indeed difficult, nay scarcely possible, to determine precisely, what materials he received from his uncle, and what tenets he added himself; that he added several is plain enough. This difficulty arises from hence, that there are few writings of Lælius extant, and of those that bear his name, some undoubtedly belong to other authors. We learn, however, from Faustus himself, that the doctrine he propagated, with respect to the *person* of Christ, was, at least, the greatest part of it, broached by his uncle Lælius.

accuracy and perfection, was published under the title of the *Catechism of Racow*, and is still considered as the *Confession of Faith* of the whole sect. An unexpected circumstance crowned all the fortunate events that had happened to this sect, and seemed to leave them nothing further to desire; and this was the zealous protection of Jacobus a Sienno, to whom *Racow* belonged. This new patron, separating himself from the Reformed church, in the year 1600, embraced the doctrine and communion of the Socinians, and about two years after, erected in his own city, which he declared their metropolis, a public school, designed as a seminary for their church, to form its ministers and pastors [*e*].

The propagation of Socinianism in Translyvania and Hungary.

XIII. From *Poland*, the doctrine of Socinus made its way into *Translyvania*, in the year 1563, and that, principally, by the credit and influence of George Blandrata, a celebrated physician, whom Sigismund, at that time sovereign of the country, had invited to his court, in order to the restoration of his health. Blandrata was a man of uncommon address, had a deep knowledge of men and things, and was particularly acquainted with the manners, transactions, and intrigues of courts. He had brought with him a Socinian minister, whose name was Francis David, who seconded his efforts with such zeal, that, by their united solicitations and labours, they engaged the prince, and the greatest part of the nobility, in their cause, infected almost the whole province with their errors, and obtained, for the ministers and members of their communion, the privilege of professing and propagating their doctrines in a public manner. The *Batori*, indeed, who were afterwards chosen dukes of *Translyvania*, were, by

[*e*] See Wissowatii *Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, p. 214.—Lubieniecius, *Histor. Reformatorum. Polon.* lib. iii. c. 12. p. 240.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

no means, prejudiced in favour of the Socinians; but that sect was grown so powerful by its numbers, and its influence, that they could not, in prudence, attempt to suppress it [*f*]. Such also was the case with the successors of the *Batori;* they desired ardently to extirpate this society, but never could bring this desire into execution; so that to this day the Socinians profess their religion publicly in this province, and, indeed, in it alone, and, relying on the protection of the laws, and the faith of certain treaties that have been made with them, have their churches and seminaries of learning, and hold their ecclesiastical and religious assemblies, though exposed to perpetual dangers and snares, from the vigilance of their adversaries [*g*]. About the same time the Socinians endeavoured to form settlements in *Hungary* [*h*] and *Austria* [*i*]; but these attempts were defeated by the united and zealous opposition both of the Roman-catholic and Reformed churches.

In Holland and England.

XIV. No sooner had the Socinians obtained a solid and happy settlement at *Racow*, but the dictates of zeal and ambition suggested to them views of a still more extensive nature. Encouraged by the protection of men in power, and the suffrages of men of learning and genius, they began to lay several plans for the enlargement of their community, and meditated nothing less than the propagation

[*f*] See Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 28. & 55.—Pauli Debrezeni *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungari,* p. 147.—Mart. Schmeizelii *De Statu Eccles. Lutheranæ in Transylvania,* p. 55.—Lamy, *Hist. du Socinianisme,* part I. ch. xiii. p. 46.—Salig. *Histor. Aug. Confessionis,* vol. ii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 847.

[*g*] Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini,* cap. ii. p. 357, 359.

[*h*] Debrezeni *Histor. Eccles. Reform. in Hungaria,* p. 169.

[*i*] Henr. Spondani *Continuat. Annal. Barronii, ad A.* 1568. n. xxiv. p. 704.

propagation of their doctrine through all the states of *Europe*. The first step they took towards the execution of this purpose, was the publication of a considerable number of books of which some were designed to illustrate and defend their theological system, and others to explain, or rather to pervert, the sacred writings into a conformity with their peculiar tenets. These books, which were composed by the most subtile and artful doctors of the sect, were printed at *Racow*, and dispersed with the utmost industry and zeal through different countries [*k*]. They also sent missionaries to several places, towards the conclusion of this century, as appears evident from authentic records, in order to make proselytes, and to erect new congregations. These missionaries seemed every way qualified to gain credit to the cause in which they had embarked, as some of them were distinguished by the lustre of their birth, and others by the extent of their learning, and the powers of their eloquence; and yet, notwithstanding these uncommon advantages, they failed, almost every where in their attempts. A small congregation was founded at *Dantzic*, which subsisted, for some time, in a clandestine manner, and then gradually dwindled to nothing [*l*]. The first attempts to promote the cause of Socinianism in *Holland*, were made by a person whose name was Erasmus Johannis [*m*]. After him Christopher

[*k*] A considerable number of these books were republished together, in the year 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, under the title of *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*. There are, indeed, in this collection many pieces wanting, which were composed by the most eminent leaders of the sect; but what is there published is, nevertheless, sufficient to give the attentive reader a clear idea of the doctrine of the Socinians, and of the nature of their institution as a religious community.

[*l*] Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Hist. Crypto-Socinismi Altorfini*, p. 199.

[*m*] Sandius, *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinit.* p. 87.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

topher Ostorod, and Andrew Voidiovius, who were the main pillars of the sect, used their utmost endeavours to gain disciples and followers in that country; nor were their labours wholly unsuccessful, though the zeal of the clergy, and the vigilance of the magistrates, prevented their forming any regular assemblies, and thus effectually checked their progress [*n*], and hindered their party from acquiring any considerable degree of strength and stability [*o*]. Socinianism did not meet with a better reception in *Britain* than in *Holland*. It was introduced into *Germany* by Adam Neuser, and other emissaries, who infected the Palatinate with its errors, having entered into a league with the Transylvanians, at the critical period when the affairs of the Unitarians in *Poland*, carried a dubious and unpromising aspect. But this pernicious league was soon detected, and the schemes of its authors entirely blasted and disconcerted; upon which Neuser went into *Turkey*, and enlisted among the Janizaries [*p*].

The main principle of Socinianism.

XV. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all our knowledge of divine things is derived solely from the Holy Scriptures; yet they maintain in reality, that the sense of scripture is to be investigated and explained by the dictates of right reason,

☞ [*n*] Brandt, in his History of the Reformation of the Netherlands, tells us, that Ostorod and Voidiovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burnt publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude was assembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.

[*o*] Zeltnerus, *Hist. Crypto-Socinismi*, &c. p. 31. & 178.

[*p*] Burch. Gott. Struvii *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* cap. viii. sect. lii. p. 214.—Alting, *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* in Miegii *Monum. Palat.* p. 266—337.—La Croze, *Dissertations Historiques.* tom. i. p. 101, 127. compared with Bern. Raupachius, his *Presbyterologia Austriaca*, p. 113. where there is an account of John Matthæus, who was concerned in these troubles.

reason, to which, of consequence, they attribute a great influence in determining the nature, and unfolding the various doctrines of religion. When their writings are perused with attention, they will be found to attribute more to reason, in this matter, than most other Christian societies. For they frequently insinuate artfully, nay sometimes declare plainly, that the sacred penmen were guilty of several mistakes, from a defect of memory, as well as a want of capacity; that they expressed their sentiments without either perspicuity or precision, and rendered the plainest things obscure by their pompous and diffuse Asiatic style; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary to employ the lamp of human reason to cast a light upon their doctrine, and to explain it in a manner conformable to truth. It is easy to see what they had in view by maintaining propositions of this kind. They aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the following general rule, *viz.* That the history of the Jews and of Jesus Christ was indeed to be derived from the books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and that it was not lawful to entertain the least doubt concerning the truth of this history, and the authenticity of these books in general; but that the particular doctrines which they contain, were, nevertheless, to be understood and explained in such a manner as to render them conformable to the dictates of reason. According to this representation of things, it is not the Holy Scripture, which declares clearly and expressly what we are to believe concerning the nature, counsels, and perfections of the Deity; but it is human reason, which shews us the system of religion that we ought to seek in, and deduce from, the divine oracles.

The dangerous consequences of this principle.

XVI. This fundamental principle of Socinianism will appear more dangerous and pernicious, when we consider the sense in which the word

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

Reason was understood by this sect. The pompous title of *Right Reason* was given, by the Socinians, to that measure of intelligence and discernment, or, in other words, to that faculty of comprehending and judging, which we derive from nature. According to this definition, the fundamental rule of the Socinians necessarily supposes, that no doctrine ought to be acknowledged as true in its nature, or divine in its origin, all whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding; and that, whatever the Holy Scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, his counsels and decrees, and the way of salvation, must be modified, curtailed, and filed down, in such a manner, by the transforming power of art and argument, as to answer the extent of our limited faculties. Those who adopt this singular rule, must at the same time, grant that the number of religions must be nearly equal to that of individuals. For as there is a great variety in the talents and capacities of different persons, so what will appear difficult and abstruse to one, will seem evident and clear to another; and thus the more discerning and penetrating will adopt as divine truth, what the slow and superficial will look upon as an unintelligible jargon. This consequence does not at all alarm the Socinians, who suffer their members to explain, in very different ways, many doctrines of the highest importance, and permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge, in general, the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions.

The sum and substance of Socinianism.

XVII. In consequence of this leading maxim, the Socinians either reject without exception, or change and accommodate to their limited capacities, all those doctrines relating to the nature of God

God and of Jesus Christ, the plan of redemption, and the eternal rewards and punishments unfolded in the Gospel, which they either cannot comprehend, or consider as attended with considerable difficulties. The sum of their theology is as follows: "God, who is infinitely more "perfect than man, though of a similar na- "ture in some respects, exerted an act of that "power by which he governs all things; in con- "sequence of which an extraordinary person was "born of the Virgin Mary. That person was "Jesus Christ, whom God first translated to "heaven by that portion of his divine power, "which is called the *Holy Ghost;* and having "instructed him fully there in the knowledge of "his will, counsels, and designs, sent him again "into this sublunary world, to promulgate to man- "kind a new rule of life, more excellent than that "under which they had formerly lived, to propa- "gate divine truth by his ministry, and to con- "firm it by his death.

"Those who obey the voice of this Divine "Teacher (and this obedience is in the power "of every one whose will and inclination leads "that way), shall one day be clothed with new "bodies, and inhabit eternally those blessed re- "gions, where God himself immediately resides. "Such, on the contrary, as are disobedient and "rebellious, shall undergo most terrible and ex- "quisite torments, which shall be succeeded by "annihilation, or the total extinction of their "being."

The whole system of Socinianism, when stripped of the embellishments and commentaries with which it has been loaded and disguised by its doctors, is really reducible to the few propositions now mentioned.

XVIII. The nature and genius of the Socinian theology has an immediate influence upon the moral

The moral doctrine of the Socinians.

moral system of that sect, and naturally leads its doctors to confine their rules of morality and virtue to the *external* actions and duties of life. On the one hand, they deny the influence of a divine spirit and power upon the minds of men; and on the other, they acknowledge, that no mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left, but one, and that is, to declare all such true and worthy Christians, whose *words* and external *actions* are conformable to the precepts of the Divine law. It is, at the same time, remarkable, that another branch of their doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners, since they maintain, that the great end of Christ's mission upon earth was to exhibit to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is, that a great number of the Socinians have fallen into the fanatical rigour of the ancient Anabaptists, and judged it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and other things of that nature. But, in this, there is something extremely singular, and they are here, indeed, inconsistent with themselves. For while, in matters of doctrine, they take the greatest liberty with the expressions of Scripture, and pervert them in a violent manner, to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise, when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the Gospel; for then they understand these precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of times, persons, and circumstances.

XIX. It

The Catechism of Racow.

XIX. It must carefully be observed, that the *Catechism of Racow*, which most people look upon as the great standard of Socinianism, and as an accurate summary of the doctrine of that sect, is, in reality, no more than a collection of the popular tenets of the Socinians, and by no means a just representation of the secret opinions and sentiments of their doctors [*q*]. The writings, therefore, of these learned men must be perused with attention, in order to our knowing the hidden reasons and true principles from whence the doctrines of the Catechism are derived. It is observable, besides, that, in this Catechism, many Socinian tenets and institutions, which might have contributed to render the sect still more odious, and to expose its internal constitution too much to public view, are entirely omitted; so that it seems to have been less composed for the use of the Socinians themselves, than to impose upon strangers, and to mitigate the indignation which the tenets of this community had excited in the minds of many [*r*]. Hence it never obtained, among the Socinians, the authority of a public confession or rule of faith; and hence the doctors of that sect were authorised to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place. It is also observable, that the most eminent writers and patrons of the Socinians, give no clear or consistent account of the sentiments of that sect in relation

[*q*] We have an account of the authors of this famous *Catechism*, and of the various success it met with, in the *Commentatio de Cathechisi Racoviensi*, published by Jo. And. Schmidius, in the year 1707. See also Koechieri *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*.—A new edition of the *Catechism* itself, with a solid refutation of the doctrine it contains, was published in 8vo at Francfort and Leipsick, in the year 1739, by the learned George Lewis Oeder.

[*r*] This appears evident enough from their presenting a Latin translation of this Catechism to James I. king of Great Britain, and a German one to the academy of Wittemberg.

relation to ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the form of public worship. All that we know is, that they follow in these matters, generally speaking, the customs received in the protestant churches [*s*].

The state of learning among the Socinians.

XX. The first founders and patrons of this sect were eminently distinguished by their learning and genius. Their successors, however, did not follow their steps in this respect, nor keep up the reputation they had universally obtained. The *Unitarians* in *Poland* seem to have had little ambition of science. They gave no encouragement to learning or talents; and appeared little solicitous of having in their community subtile doctors and learned disputants. But, when they perceived on the one hand, that the success of their community required as able defenders, as they had learned and ingenious adversaries; and were so lucky, on the other, as to obtain the privilege of erecting seminaries of learning at *Racow* and *Lublin*, they then changed their sentiments with respect to this matter, and became sensible of the necessity under which they lay, to encourage in their community a zeal for the sciences. This zeal increased greatly from the time that Faustus Socinus undertook the restoration of their declining credit, and put himself at the head of their tottering sect. At that time many persons, distinguished by their birth, education, and talents, embraced

[*s*] This is manifest from a work composed by Peter Morscovius, or Morscowsky, under the following title: "Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per filium ejus Unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto, confitentur." This work, which is divided into three books, was composed in the year 1642, and published in 4to at *Nuremberg*, but a few years ago, by the learned George Lewis Oeder. It is mentioned, by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 142. who says that it was drawn up *for the use of the Belgic churches.*

embraced its doctrine, and contributed to promote the love of science among its members. Then the youth were taught the rules of eloquence and rhetoric, and instructed in the important branches of Oriental, Greek, and Latin literature. Nay, even the secret parts of philosophy were opened, though their treasures were disclosed only to a few, who were selected, for that purpose, from the multitude. The Racovian doctors, in compliance with the spirit and taste of the age, chose Aristotle as their guide in philosophy, as appears evidently from the Ethics of Crellius, and other literary records of these times.

Their method of proceeding in theology.

XXI. Notwithstanding this progress of philosophy among the Socinians, their doctors seemed to reject its succours in theology with obstinacy and disdain. They declare, in numberless places of their writings, that both in the interpretation of scripture, and in explaining and demonstrating the truth of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and no regard paid to the subtilties of philosophy and logic. And, indeed, had their doctors and interpreters followed in practice, this rule that they have laid down with so much ostentation in theory, they would have saved their adversaries, and perhaps themselves, much trouble. But this is by no means the case. For, in the greatest part of their theological productions, their pretended simplicity, is frequently accomplished with much subtilty, and with the most refined intricacies of scientific art. And, what is still more inexcusable, they reason with the greatest dexterity and acuteness concerning those subjects, which, (as they surpass the reach of human understanding) are generally received among other Christians, as *facts*, confirmed by the most respectable *testimony*, and consequently as matters of pure *faith*, while they discover little sagacity, or strength of judgment,

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

ment, in those discussions which are within the sphere of reason, and are properly amenable to its tribunal. They are acute where they ought to be silent, and they reason aukwardly where sagacity and argument are required. These are certainly great inconsistencies; yet they proceed from one and the same principle, even the maxim universally received in this community, that all things *that surpass the limits of human comprehension are to be entirely banished from the Christian religion.*

The divisions of the Socinians, and their intestine controversies.

XXII. It has been already observed, that the *Unitarians* had no sooner separated themselves from the Reformed churches in *Poland*, than they became a prey to intestine divisions, and were split into several factions. The points of doctrine that gave rise to these divisions, related to the dignity of Christ's *nature* and *character*, the unlawfulness of *Infant-Baptism*, the *personality* of the *Holy Ghost*, to which were added several alterations, concerning the duties of life, and the rules of conduct that were obligatory on Christians. The sects produced by these divisions, were not all equally obstinate. Some of them entertained pacific dispositions, and seemed inclined towards a reconciliation. But two, particularly maintained tenaciously their sentiments, and persisted in their separation; these were the *Budnæans* and the *Farnovians*. The former were so called from

Budnæans.

their leader Simon Budnæus, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who, more dexterous than the rest of his brethren in deducing consequences from their principles, and perceiving plainly the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, denied flatly all kinds of religious worship to Jesus Christ. Nor did Budnæus stop here; in order to give a more specious colour to this capital error, and to maintain it upon consistent grounds, he asserted that Christ was not begotten by an extraordinary

extraordinary act of divine power, but that he was born like other men, in a natural way. This hypothesis, however conformable to the fundamental principles of Socinianism, appeared intolerable and impious to the greatest part of that community. Hence Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in *Lithuania* and *Russian Poland*, was deposed from his ministerial functions, in the year 1584, and publicly excommunicated with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was again re-admitted to the communion of that sect [*t*].

The sentiments of Budnæus embraced by Davides and Francken.

XXIII. This heretical doctrine, which had created so much trouble to Budnæus, was soon after adopted by Francis Davides, a Hungarian, who was the superintendant of the Socinian churches in *Transylvania*, and who opposed, with the greatest ardour and obstinacy, the custom of offering up prayers, and divine worship to Jesus Christ. Several methods were used to reclaim him from this offensive error. Blandrata employed all the power of his eloquence for this purpose, and, to render his remonstrances still more effectual, sent for Faustus Socinus, who went accordingly into *Transylvania*, in the year 1573, and seconded his arguments and exhortations with the utmost zeal and perseverance. But Davides remained unmoved, and was, in consequence of this obstinate adherence to his error, thrown into prison

[*t*] See Sandii *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 54, 55.—*Epistola de Vita Wissowatii*, p. 226.—Ringeltaube's German *Dissertation on the Polish Bibles*, p. 144. 152.—Samuel Crellius, the most learned Socinian of our times, looks upon Adam Neuser*, who was banished on account of his erroneous sentiments, to have been the author of this doctrine which is so derogatory from the doctrine of Jesus Christ. See Crellii *Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian.* tom. i. p. 111.

* See sect xiv. of this chapter.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

prison by Christopher Bathory, prince of *Transylvania;* where he died in the year 1579, in an advanced age [*u*]. This his unhappy fate did not however, extinguish the controversy to which his doctrine had given rise. For he left behind him disciples and friends, who strenuously maintained his sentiments, stood firm against the opposition that was made to them, and created much uneasiness to Socinus and his followers in *Lithuania* and *Poland.* The most eminent of these were Jacob Palæologus, of the isle of *Chio,* who was burnt at *Rome,* in the year 1585; Christian Francken, who had disputed in person with Socinus; and John Summer [*w*], who was master of the academy of *Clausenburg* [*x*]. This little sect is branded by the Socinian writers, with the ignominious appellation of *Semi-Judaizers* [*y*].

XXIV. The

[*u*] Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 55, 56.—Faust. Socin. *Oper.* tom. i. p. 353, 395. tom. ii. p. 713. 771. where there is an account of his conference and dispute with Francis Davides.—Stan. Lubieniecii *Histor. Reform. Polonicæ,* lib. iii. c. xi. p. 228.

[*w*] See Sandius, *loc. cit.* p. 57, 58. The dispute between Socinus and Francken is related at large in the Works of the former, tom. ii. p. 767.

☞ [*x*] *Clausenburg,* otherwise *Coloswar,* is a town in *Translyvania,* extremely populous and well fortified. The Socinians have here a public school and a printing-house; and their community in this place is very numerous. Till the year 1603, they were in possession of the cathedral, which was then taken from them and given to the Jesuits, whose college and church they had pulled down.

[*y*] Faustus Socinus wrote a particular treatise against the *Semi-Judaizers,* which is published in the second volume of his Works, p. 804. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the motive, which engaged Socinus and his friends to employ so much pains and labour in the suppression of this faction, was not a persuasion of the pernicious tendency of its doctrines or peculiar notions. On the contrary, Socinus himself expressly acknowledges, that this controversy turns upon matters of very little importance, by declaring it, as his opinion, that praying or offering up divine worship to Christ, is

The Farnovian sect.

XXIV. The *Farnovians* were treated by the Socinians with much more indulgence. They were neither excluded from the communion of the sect, nor obliged to renounce their peculiar tenets; they were only exhorted to conceal them prudently, and not to publish or propagate them in their discourses from the pulpit [z]. This particular branch of the Socinian community was so called

is not necessary to salvation. Thus, in his answer to *Wujeck*, (*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 538.) he expresses himself in the following manner: *The Christian whose faith is so great, as to encourage him to make his address habitually and directly to the Supreme Being, and who standeth not in need of the comfort that flows from the innovation of* CHRIST his brother, *who was* tempted in all things like as he is, *that a Christian is not obliged to call upon the name of Jesus, by prayer or supplication**. According therefore to the opinion of Socinus, those who lay aside all regard to CHRIST as an Intercessor, and address themselves *directly* to God *alone*, have a greater measure of faith than others. But, if this be so, why did he oppose with such vehemence and animosity the sentiment of Davides, who, in effect, did no more than exhort all Christians, to address themselves *directly* and immediately to the Father? Here there appears to be a striking inconsistency. We find also Lubieniecius, in his *Reformat. Histor. Polonicæ*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228. speaking lightly enough of this controversy, and representing it as a matter of very little moment; when he says, that in *Transylvania* there was *much ado about nothing*†. From all this, then, it appears manifest, that Socinus and his followers were more artful than ingenious in their proceedings with respect to Davides. They persecuted him and his followers, lest by tolerating his doctrine, they should increase the *odium* under which they already lay, and draw upon themselves anew, the resentment of other Christian churches, while in their private judgment, they looked upon this very doctrine and its professors, as worthy of toleration and indulgence.

[z] *Epistola de Vita Wissovatii*, p. 226.—Erasmus Johanis (as we are informed by Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinit.* p. 87.) was admitted Professor of Divinity in the Socinian academy at *Clausenburg*, on condition, that in his public discourses he should never say any thing of Christ's having existed before the Virgin Mary.

* Quod si quis tanta est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo recta accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi Fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione proficiscitur, indigeat hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet. † Fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse.

CENT. XVI. SECT. III. PART II.

led from Stanislaus Farnovius, or Farnesius, who was engaged by Gonesius to prefer the Arian system to that of the Socinians, and consequently asserted, that Christ had been engendered, or produced, out of nothing, by the Supreme Being, before the creation of this terrestrial globe. It is not so easy to say, what his sentiments were concerning the *Holy Ghost;* all we know of that matter is, that he warned his disciples against paying the tribute of religious worship to that divine Spirit [*a*]. Farnovius separated from the other *Unitarians*, in the year 1568, and was followed, in this schism, by several persons eminent on account of the extent of their learning, and the influence of their rank, such as Martin Czechovicius, Neimoiovius, Stanislaus Wisnowius, John Falcon, George Schoman, and others. They did not, however, form themselves into a stable or permanent sect. The lenity and indulgence of the Socinians, together with the dexterity of their disputants, brought many of them back into the bosom of the community they had deserted, and considerable numbers were dispersed or regained by the prudence and address of Faustus Socinus. So that at length the whole faction, being deprived of its chief, who died in the year 1615, was scattered abroad, and reduced to nothing [*b*].

[*a*] Sandius, *Biblioth.* p. 52. & passim.

[*b*] We omit here an enumeration of the more famous Socinian writers who flourished in this century, because the greatest part of them have already been mentioned in the course of this History. The rest may be easily collected from Sandius.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

BR
145
M6713
1819
v.4
c.1
ROBA